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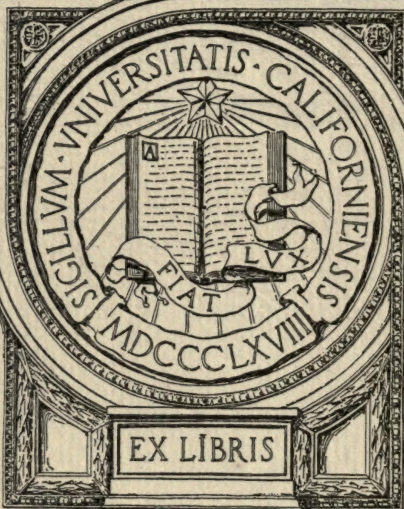


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THE
EARLY DAYS OF MONASTICISM
ON MOUNT ATHOS

KIRSOPP LAKE

GIFT OF
JANE K. SATHER



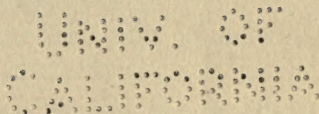
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THE EARLY DAYS OF MONASTICISM ON MOUNT ATHOS

BY

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PREFACE

THE following pages are the by-product of various visits to the Monasteries of Mount Athos for the study of Biblical and Patristic MSS. It is impossible for any one to visit these districts without becoming interested in the local history. I trust that Byzantine scholars will pardon my invasion of their province.

It is also probably worth noting that the list of *anecdota hagiographica* could be enormously increased by the consistent cataloguing of the lives of Saints in the various libraries other than the Laura; for the extraordinary wealth of Mount Athos in this respect is obscured by the fact that the Cambridge catalogue of Lambros does not as a rule do more than record the month to which a volume of βίαι belongs. It is of course a help to know which MSS. have βίαι, but the really valuable work of cataloguing the contents has still to be done.

The pleasant duty is once more laid on me of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Trustees of the Revision Surplus, the Hort and the Hibbert Funds. This is the seventh book which I have had published, and of these seven five are entirely the result of grants made to me by some or all of these societies; it is unnecessary for me to say more to prove that I have reason to be grateful for their help.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

Leiden, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of Greek monasticism seems, in all the places in which it flourished, to afford examples of a development passing through three more or less clearly defined periods.

There is first of all the hermit period, in which a desolate piece of country is selected by hermits as affording the necessary solitude for an ascetic life. Secondly, there is the period of loose organization of hermits in *lauras*; that is to say, a collection of hermits' cells, more or less widely scattered, grows up round the common centre provided by the cell of a hermit of remarkable fame, who has attracted, and in some degree become the leader of, the others. Thirdly, there comes a time when the loose organization of the *laura* is replaced by the stricter rule of a monastery, with definite buildings and fixed regulations, under the control of an ἡγούμενος or abbot. The passage from the previous stage to this was no doubt frequently hastened by the fact that the Byzantine authorities encouraged monasteries, but were not as a rule favourable to *lauras*.

The present treatise on the early history of Mount Athos is an attempt to collect the few and scattered pieces of evidence which bear on the

first two stages—the hermit and the laura—on Mount Athos, and to show that no exception is afforded to the general rule of development. Although the evidence is scanty, it is sufficient to prove that there were hermits before there were lauras, and lauras before there were monasteries, on the Holy Mountain.

It would therefore have been logical to divide the discussion into the three periods dominated by hermits, lauras, and convents; but in practice it has proved impossible to do this, for the same man often began life in a monastery, and afterwards became successively a hermit, the centre of a laura, and the founder of a monastery. This is especially the case, naturally enough, in the middle period, when the mountain was occupied partly by hermits and partly by monks in lauras, whom force of circumstances compelled to adopt an increasingly more developed form of organization.

In the following pages I have therefore divided the discussion according to the saints and monasteries which play the chief part in the story. The first division is dominated by Peter the Athonite, who was a hermit, and nothing else, in the middle of the ninth century; his life, the text of which I append, has never previously been published. The chief personage in the second division is Euthymius of Thessalonica, who was first a hermit, and afterwards the centre of a laura, on Mt. Athos. The third division is not connected with the name of a monk who lived on Mount Athos, but with that of

Johannes Kolobos, who about 970 founded close to the mountain a monastery which played a considerable part in forcing the hermits and lauras of Mount Athos to adopt a more definite organization.

The fourth and last division deals with the position of affairs in the tenth century as revealed by various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite, and includes the final decay of the laura system and its replacement by fully organized monasteries, together with the final absorption of the monastery of Kolobou by the monks of the mountain. For the sake of clearness I have as largely as possible kept the discussion free from any very long quotations from original documents, and have collected the evidence afforded by these in a series of *pièces justificatives* forming appendices to each chapter.

CHAPTER I

PETER THE ATHONITE

IN the *Acta Sanctorum* for June 12 (also in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 150, col. 989 ff.) is printed what claims to be the life of Peter the Athonite, as told in the fourteenth century by Gregorios Palamas, the famous opponent of Barlaam in the Hesychast controversy. No one, however, has ever tried to find in this document any serious history concerning Peter, and it was impossible to say whether it was the free composition of Gregory, or based on some earlier tradition from which he had selected the miraculous episodes which edified him, while omitting the historical details which would have interested us.

Fortunately for history, in the Laura on Mount Athos and in other libraries there are preserved MSS. of an earlier life of Peter which was written (so at least it claims) by a certain Nicolaus, and was undoubtedly the source used by Gregory Palamas. This has never been published and, though not a document of the first rank, is worth studying.

Research in menologies would probably reveal the existence of a fair number of MSS. At present, however, the only ones with which I am acquainted are as follows :—

(1) In the Laura on Mount Athos, Cod. Δ 79 (saec. XII. 36. 3 x 25. 0 cm. 2 col. 33 ll.), a beautifully written MS. containing the lives of the Saints and encomia for April, May, June, July, and August. This MS. has been used by M. Louis Petit for his edition of the life of Michael Maleinos;¹ he there ascribes the MS. to the thirteenth century, but although it is exceedingly difficult to date these large hagiographical hands, I doubt if it can be put so late. Indeed my own opinion is that it was written early rather than late in the twelfth century. The last page of the life of Peter is unfortunately missing, but the text can be supplied from the other MSS.

(2) Also in the Laura, Cod. E 190 (written at the expense of Simeon, proegoumenos of the Laura, ἐκ τῆς χώρας Καρύστου, and given by him to the library in 1646). This MS. is clearly a copy of Δ 79, and it was obviously not worth while to collate it: but it is valuable as giving the text of the lost page of Δ 79.

(3) In Rome, Cod. Vat. 1190 (ff. 1003-1012), a MS. written in 1542 for 'Georgius episcopus Sitiensis et Hierapetrensis' and given by him to Pope Paul V.

(4) In Paris, Cod. Coislin. Paris 307 (ff. 398-410), a MS. which formerly belonged to the monastery of Castamonitou on Mount Athos and was obtained from

¹ *Vie et Office de Michel Maleinos, &c., par Louis Petit.* Paris, Picard et fils, 1903 (in the *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale*, éditée par Leon Clugnet).

it (it is almost certain) for Séguier, the Chancellor of Louis XIV., by the famous Père Athanase, whose story is told by M. Henri Omont in his *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient, aux XVII et XVIII^e siècles*.¹

(5) Also in Paris, Cod. Coislin. 109, a MS. of the tenth century, which Séguier most probably also acquired from Père Athanase, containing on fol. 249^v f. a short extract (in a later hand) from the life of Peter. This is important because the MS. itself came from τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου (on f. 266).

No doubt further investigations would reveal more MSS., but the text of Δ 79 is not bad, and it is not probable that the collation of other MSS. would give any results at all proportionate to the labour of collating them.

In editing the text I have kept strictly to my copy of the MS. except in the insertion of iota subscript, and the treatment of enclitic accents. Where my copy attests a probably corrupt reading, and supports it by a *sic*, I have noted the fact with *sic cod.* Where I fear that I have made a mistake in copying, as the reading is apparently wrong, and is nevertheless not supported by a *sic cod.*, I have noted the fact by *sic* without *cod.* Merely orthographical variations I have printed without comment.

¹ Paris, *Imprimerie nationale*, 1902.

The Story of Peter's Life.

The story told by Nicolaus is a typical example of the methods followed by the Greek hagiographers. All the emphasis is laid on the visions, miracles, contests with demons, and general asceticism of the saint during his life, and on the history and efficacy of his relics after his death. There is often a tendency to describe all this kind of narrative as unhistorical; but it would be truer to say that it narrates certain abnormal psychological experiences and combines them with a 'Weltanschauung' which is entirely foreign to modern ways of thinking. The *Acta Sanctorum* would, I think, afford magnificent material to any one who would treat the psychology of the later saints in somewhat the same way as that made famous by Prof. W. James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*.

At the same time it is certainly true that this side of the narrative has no importance for fixing the historical facts connected with Peter. It is therefore probably expedient to tell over again in a few words the few purely historical parts of the story, as these afford the only foundation for any discussion of the date of Peter, and of the light thrown on the early history of the mountain by his life.

Peter was originally a soldier (a *σχολάριος* of the fifth *σχολή*) who was captured by the Arabs in Syria and imprisoned at Samara—a misfortune which he regarded as the direct result of his neglect

to fulfil a vow to become a monk. He entreated St. Nicolaus to help him, and promised that if he obtained his liberty he would go to Rome, and there take monastic vows. After some difficulty, to overcome which the further intercession of St. Simeon was necessary, the help of the Saints proved effectual, and Peter obtained his liberty. In accordance with his vow he went to Rome and was ordained monk by the Pope. After a short stay in Rome he joined a ship bound for the Levant, but when he was close to Mount Athos the ship was miraculously delayed, and he thus recognized that this was the place in which, as St. Nicolaus had told him, he was to pass the remainder of his days as a hermit. On disembarking he found the mountain uninhabited and lived there for fifty years in a cave. Here he was tempted by devils and in danger from wild beasts, but ultimately was victorious over both. Towards the end of his last year he was accidentally discovered by a hunter, to whom he told his story, advising him to follow his example and adopt the ascetic life. His words had so much influence that the hunter promised to return after a farewell visit to his family; but when he came back the following year, bringing with him his brother and some monks, he found that Peter was already dead. But since according to mediaeval ideas the corpse of a saint is worth even more than his living body, the two brothers proceeded to take away the relics in the boat in which they had come. They rowed and

sailed along the east coast of the mountain, but when they were opposite the monastery of Clementos (where the present Iveron¹ stands), their boat stood still in spite of a favourable wind which filled their sail. So long were they stationary that the monks of Clementos put out to them, and made them land with the relics, the story of which they told very reluctantly, as they felt that it was improbable that they would be allowed to keep them. Nor were they mistaken: the relics were received with many honours and placed in the shrine of the Virgin 'where they are accustomed to hold the annual celebrations'. After this the hunter and his brother departed, but the monks who had accompanied them were not prepared to abandon the relics, and after diverting suspicion by professing a desire to join the foundation of Clementos, stole the body of Peter and sailed off at night to their own country. The monk Nicolaus, in whose name the book is written, says that he was an eyewitness of their departure. The monks who had taken the relics successfully escaped to Phocamin in Thrace, but the miraculous power of their burden becoming known, the bishop and clergy of the place forced them to sell it, and the relics remained permanently in that place.

In this story there are three points which arrest attention as likely to supply material for dating the life of Peter. These are (1) the imprisonment at Samara, (2) the pilgrimage to Rome, (3) the monastery of Clementos.

¹ i. e. the Georgian Monastery,—*ἡ μονὴ τῶν Ἱβήρων*.

(1) *Samara*. This is the city which is officially known in Arabic history as Sarra-man-raa, on the Tigris above Baghdad. It was the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs from 836, when it was rebuilt by Caliph Mu'tasim, to 892,¹ with the exception of the year 865 when the Caliph Musta'in left it for Baghdad, but was pursued by Mu'tazz who then assumed the Caliphate. The reference to Samara therefore fixes the years between 836 and 892 as the most probable for the imprisonment of Peter. Moreover, the fact that the intermittent war between the Greeks and the Arabs blazed up again in 838—just previously there had been a breathing-space—enables us to say 838 instead of 836.

(2) *Pilgrimage to Rome*. At most times it would be very improbable for a Greek monk to think of going to Rome to receive the tonsure, and it is certainly very improbable that any Greek writer, after the beginning of the tenth century, would have invented such a story. But during the Iconoclast movement it is not at all unlikely that a monk of the Iconolatric party went to Rome for this purpose. The Iconoclast movement ceased with the death of Theophilus in 842, so that the story of the pilgrimage to Rome is more probable if it were undertaken in consequence of a vow made before 842 than after that year.

Thus this line of argument, combined with the facts connected with Samara, points to the years between

¹ See Le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1900, especially pages 13 and 311.

838 and 842 as the most probable for Peter's imprisonment and vow.

(3) *The Monastery of Clementos*. This gives less help: all that is known is that in the tenth century there was a monastery of Clementos, which was already decaying and was ultimately absorbed by the new foundation of Iveron. Judging from analogy these early monasteries had a period of about a century for their rise, decline, and fall. This argument would of course be quite worthless by itself as a basis of chronological argument. But as we find that the monastery of Clementos was decaying in the year 980, when it was given to Johannes¹ the Georgian by the Emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos,¹ we should not be surprised to find that it was founded about the year 880. Now according to the life of Peter he was fifty years on Mount Athos: it is suggested by the previous argument that he came there about 840: therefore he died about 890. So far as it goes this fits the other data very well, for the suggestion made by the life of Peter is that the monastery of Clementos did not exist when he came to Mount Athos, and was flourishing at his death.

There are no other points in the life which seem to afford chronological evidence, but the date suggested will enable us to make an easy correction of a puzzling statement at the beginning. The narrator says that Methodius of Patara had commended the example of Peter. This is clearly

¹ See p. 102.

absurd, for Methodius of Patara lived in the fourth century. But if we eject the words 'of Patara' from the text as a gloss, the passage may be understood as a reference to the Methodius who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 842, in which case there is nothing improbable in the fact that he had heard of the escape of Peter and of the fulfilment of his vow.

The result of this investigation is to show that Peter the Athonite is probably an historical person who lived the life of a hermit on Mount Athos in the ninth century. It remains to ask what is the date of the existing narrative. As the MS. in which it is found belongs to the twelfth century, and Peter himself belonged to the ninth, any date between these extremes is possible. It is equally obvious that the writer wishes to give the impression that he was himself a younger contemporary of Peter, for he claims to have been an eye-witness of the theft of the relics. If one could be certain that the words 'of Patara' in reference to Methodius are merely a gloss and not due to the writer himself, there would not be much reason for questioning the truth of this implication. But if the confusion between Methodius of Patara and Methodius of Constantinople be really due to the writer, it is almost inconceivable that he belonged to the ninth century. In this case the tenth century is probably the date of the writing of the Life. It can hardly be much later in face of the reference to the monastery of Clementos, which

ceased to exist after 980. On the whole I think that the latter is the more probable view for two reasons: (1) Mount Athos is referred to as the Holy Mountain, a title for which I know of no evidence before the tenth century; (2) it is suggested, though not clearly stated, that the monastery was dedicated to the Virgin, whereas Clementos was dedicated to the Baptist, though the foundation which absorbed it was really dedicated to the Virgin. These two points are not worth much in themselves, but are perhaps just sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the tenth century. In this case one must assume either that the writer wished to represent Peter as a contemporary of Methodius of Patara in the fourth century, or, which is much more probable, did not know in the least when Methodius of Patara lived and simply mixed up two people of the same name. In either case the statement made above that the words 'of Patara' are a gloss must be taken to mean that they are a gloss on the tradition rather than on the text of the life of Peter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF PETER THE ATHONITE

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.

I, 1.
Introduc-
tion.

Τὸ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων βίους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν θεοφιλῇ πολιτείαν ἐγγράφως ἐκτίθεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ ζῆλον ὅμοιον παραδιδόναι, καλὸν καὶ λίαν ἐπωφελές καὶ θεάρεστον· τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀκούουσιν ὄνησις οὐχ ἡ τυχούσα γίνεται, καὶ τῷ γράφοντι μισθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν ἀκούοντων. ὅθεν καὶ γὰρ πατρικῇ πεισθεὶς ἐντολῇ κελευούσῃ τὸν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου βίον ἀνάγραπτον γενέσθαι, τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ ὄρει ἀγγελικῶς πολιτευσαμένου, καὶ ἀσάρκως, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, βεβιωκότος, δίκαιον ἔκρινα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένου θαύματος παρὰ τοῦ τρισμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου ἀπάρξασθαι, καὶ οὕτω καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν τὸν ἄλλον αὐτοῦ διασαφῆσαι βίον. τὰ δὲ τοῦ θαύματος τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας πατὴρ ἡμῶν Μεθόδιος ὁ Πατάρων ἐπίσκοπος συνεγράψατο “μοναχοὶ” φησὶ “τινὲς τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ πάντα θεῷ ἐπιτηδευομένων ἀρέσκειν, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ στοιχειούμενοι, τοῦτό μοι γεγενεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Νικολάου τοῦ παμμάκαρος νεωστὶ τὸ θαῦμα διηγόρευσαν· Πέτρος, λέγοντες, ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ μοναχὸς ἀπὸ σχολαρίων γενόμενος τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ μονάσαι διαβεβαίωσατο.” ὄντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ σχολῇ καὶ μετὰ στρατοπέδων διαφόρων ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἀποσταλέντος πρὸς πόλεμον, ἔτυχεν, οἷα πολλάκις φιλεῖ ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι, τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικρατεστέρων ὀφθέντων, τραπῆναι μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, ζωγρηθῆναι δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν πλείστους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ οὗτος ὁ Πέτρος αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Σαμαρὰν ἀποστέλλεται (κάστρον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τοῖς Ἀραβῖν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ

2.
His im-
prison-
ment at
Samara.

πολυάνθρωπον), ἀποδοθῆναι τε τῷ τούτων ἀρχηγῷ, τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἄρπαγμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνος ὁ δυσσεβὴς εἰς δημοσίαν φυλακὴν αὐτὸν ἐναπέθετο, καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν σιδήροις βαρυτάτοις κατησφαλίστατο, σωφρονέστερος ὥσπερ τῶν οἰκείων γενόμενος ἐξεταστὴς, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ἄρα διὰ τοῦτο εἰς προνομὴν καὶ δουλείαν ἀπεδόθη, διότι πολλάκις εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι μοναχὸς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου ἀποτάξασθαι πράγμασιν, εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀνεβάλλετο, ἐποτνιατο, ἥσχαλλεν, ἐδυσχέραιεν, ἐαυτὸν τῆς βραδυτῆτος κατεμέμφετο, καὶ δὴ ὡς ἄξια παθὼν εὐχαρίστως ὑπέφερε τὰ γενόμενα. ὡς δὲ χρόνος αὐτῷ παρωχέει ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ πλείστος, καὶ οὐδεμία ἀφορμὴ σωτηρίας ἐπρομηθεύετο, ἐκ πολλῆς συνηθείας τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου θαυμάτων προνάρχων, καὶ ἅμα τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς θλιβεροῖς ἀρωγὸν ἐπιβοᾶσθαι μεμελετηκώς, τῇ ἐξ ἔθνους παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενος “ἐγώ,” φησὶν, “ἅγιε Νικόλαε, οἶδα ὡς ἀνάξιος εἰμι πάσης σωτηρίας· πολλάκις γὰρ μονάσαι τῷ θεῷ ὑποσχόμενος, μὴ περατώσας δὲ ὅπερ ἠύξαμην τῷ πλάσαντι, δικαίως καὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε ζοφώδους καθεύξεως ἔτυχον. διὰ τοι τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν ἱκεσίαν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως οὐ τολμῶ ποιήσασθαι, σοὶ δὲ ὡς συνήθως ἔχοντι τὰ τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσοικειοῦσθαι βάρη, καὶ ταῖς δεήσεσι τῶν θλιβομένων προσεπικάμπτεσθαι, θαρρῶν προσφύγω· καὶ σὲ μεσίτην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγυητὴν προβάλλομαι, ὡς ἄρα, διὰ σοῦ τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπινεύσει τῶν ὧδε δεσμῶν ἀπολυτρούμενος, οὐκέτι τοῖς κοσμικοῖς θορύβοις ἐπιμενῶ, οὐδὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ πατρίδι ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκατοικίσω, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ πορεύσομαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου σηκῷ ἀποκειράμενος, οὕτω διατελέσω τὸν ἅπαντά μου τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον, μοναστὴς ἀντὶ κοσμικοῦ δεικνύμενος, καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ ὅση δύναμις ἐπιτηδενόμενος.” ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείονα λέγων ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἅμα νηστεiais ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδιδούς καὶ δεήσας, ἐβδομάδα ἡμερῶν ἄσιτος διετέλεσε. περὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τέλος ὁπταίνεται αὐτῷ ὁ ταχὺς τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐπίκουρος, ὁ θερμὸς προστάτης καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος, καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, “καὶ τῆς δεήσεώς σου, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε, ἀκήκοα, καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν τῆς καρδίας σου ἠκροασάμην, καὶ τὸν εὖσπλαγχνον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐλιπάρησα.

3.
His first
prayer to
S. Nico-
laus.

ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ αὐτὸς βραδὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν ἐκπληρῆς¹ καθέστηκας, γνῶθι, ἀδελφέ, ὡς οὐ βούλεται σε τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνεθῆναι, κρεῖττον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν σωτηρίαν σου προμηθεύμενος. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐπείπερ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ τὸ 'αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν,' μὴ ἐκκακήσωμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ καθικετεύειν ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅπερ οἶδε συμφέρον, τοῦτο πάντως καὶ οἰκονομήσει εἰς ἡμᾶς." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος, γεύσασθαι τε τροφῆς προτρεψάμενος, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησε. τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τότε μὲν μεταλαβόντος τροφῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ἱκεσίαν μετὰ νηστείας ἐπιτείνοντος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος, σκυθρωπῷ τινὶ βλέμματι, ὡς δῆθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακουόμενος, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὑφειμένη καὶ πραεῖα τῇ φωνῇ "ἐγὼ μὲν, ἀδελφέ, πίστευσον, οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην περὶ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκβιαζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα οἷς τισι κρίμασιν ἢ ποίᾳ οἰκονομίᾳ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλεται. πλὴν ἐπειδὴ περ εἶωθεν ὁ πολυεύσπλαγχνος τὴν ἀναβολὴν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῶν πραγματεύεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ταχέως λαμβάνοντες καταφρονῶμεν ῥαδίως τῆς χάριτος, θέλει δὲ ἴσως καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀξιωθῆναι τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐτῷ, ἐγὼ σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδείξω πρεσβευτὴν ἀξιώτατον. λάβωμεν οὖν αὐτὸν συνήγορον ἀμφοτέροι, μόνον ἐπὶ ἀψευδέσι τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οἶδα ὡς ἐπινεύσει ὁ θεὸς δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα." τοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος "καὶ τίς εἴη ἄρα, ἅγιε δέσποτα, ὁ πλέον σοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἰλασθησόμενος, σοῦ γὰρ ταῖς πρεσβεύαις καὶ ταῖς προστασίαις ὁ κόσμος ἅπας περισώζεται;" ὑποφθάσας αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας ἔφη Νικόλαος "οἶδας Συμεὼν τὸν δίκαιον, ὃς ἐν χερσὶ τὸν κύριον τεσσαρονθήμερον προσδεξάμενος ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰσεκόμῃσεν;" "οἶδα," φησί, "ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῖς γὰρ ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις ἐστὶν ἀνάγραπτος." ὁ δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος Νικόλαος "τοῦτον," ἔφη, "ἀμφοτέροι εἰς πρεσβείαν κινήσωμεν, δύναται γάρ, ὡς τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου αἰὶ παριστάμενος· καὶ πάντως τὰ ἀπέραντα ἡμῖν πέρας αἴσιον ἀπολήψονται." ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν² ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος

4.
His
second
prayer to
S. Nico-
laus.

¹ sic cod.

² sic.

ἀπηλλάττετο. διυπνισθεῖς οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ, πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς 5.
 ἰκεσίαις καὶ νηστείαις δεδωκώς, ταῖς Νικολάου πρεσβείαις His
 ἐπικαλεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπέλιπε. καὶ θέα μοι ἐνταῦθα τὴν τοῦ prayer to
 ἁγίου συμπαθείαν, πῶς τὸν ἰκέτην ἀποθεραπεῦσαι βουλόμενος S. Sy-
 καὶ τῶν αἰτησέων αὐτοῦ προμηθεύσασθαι τὸ συμπέρασμα, meon, and
 οὐ κατώκνησεν εἰς τοῦτο συμπρεσβευτὴν καὶ Συμεὼν παρα- his escape
 λαβεῖν τὸν δικαίωτατον μεθ' οὗ παραστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ from
 ἐπιφορᾷ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῷ τῶν
 λυπηρῶν ἐχαρίσατο, “θάρσει” ἔφη, “ἀδελφέ Πέτρε, καὶ
 τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ πολὺ ἀποσκευασάμενος, τῷ κοινῷ μεσίτῃ καὶ
 συμπρεσβευτῇ Συμεὼν τὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐπιθάρρησον.”
 τούτου δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνατείναντος, καὶ τὸν μέγαν
 Συμεὼν περισκοπήσαντος, ἐντρόμου δὲ ὄλου γενομένου τῷ
 δέει τῆς ὁράσεως, ὁ δίκαιος αὐτῷ παραστὰς Συμεὼν ῥάβδον
 χρυσὴν μεταχειριζόμενος, ἐφούδ τε καὶ κίδαριν καὶ ἐπωμίδα
 περιβεβλημένος, τοιούτοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχρήσατο ῥήμασιν,
 “αὐτός,” φησὶν, “ὑπάρχεις ὁ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Νικολάῳ ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ
 συνεχῶς δεόμενος ἀνεθῆναι σε τῆς περιεχούσης σε θλίψεως,
 καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα φρουρᾶς, καὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν τούτων δεσμῶν;”
 ὁ δὲ μόλις τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀνοιγέμενος “ναί,” φησί,
 “ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ταπεινός, ὁ ἐγγυητὴν αὐτὸν εἰς
 θεόν, καὶ τὴν σὴν ἁγιοσύνην μεσίτην καὶ πρεσβευτὴν προ-
 βαλλόμενος.” “καὶ φυλάττεις,” φησὶν, “ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
 ἀσφαλῶς ἄπερ αὐτῷ καθωμολόγησας, μοναχὸς γενόμενος
 καὶ ἐναρέτως βιοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος διεγειρόμενος;”
 “ναί,” φησὶν, ὑποφθάσας ὁ ἰκέτης ἀντέφησε,¹ καὶ ὁ δίκαιος
 Συμεὼν “ἐπειδὴ περ” φησὶν “ἐμμένειν οἷς ὡμολόγησας
 διαβεβαιοῖς, ἔξελθε ἀκωλύτως τῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὅπερ βούλει
 βάδιζε, οὐδὲν γάρ σε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν δοκούντων κωλυτικῶν
 ἐμποδίσαι ἢ παρακατασχεῖν δυνήσεται.” τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου
 τοὺς πόδας τοῖς σιδηροῖς καθηλωμένους ὑποδείξαντος,
 ἐκτείνας τὴν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ῥάβδον ὁ ἅγιος Συμεὼν, τῶν τε
 σιδηρῶν ἐφαψάμενος, ὡς τήκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου
 πυρός, οὕτως αὐτὰ διαλύσας παραχρῆμα ἠφάνησεν. εἶτα
 ἐξελθὼν τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου ὁ δίκαιος Συμεὼν, καὶ συνακολου-
 θῶν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος ἅμα Νικολάῳ τῷ θεομάκαρι, τὴν
 πορείαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εὐρέθη ποιούμενος, γνωρίσας δὲ
 τῷ Πέτρῳ ὡς οὐκ ἐνύπνιον τὸ ὁρώμεον (ὀνειρόττεσθαι γὰρ

¹ sic cod.

αὐτὸς ἐδόκει τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος), τῷ μεγάλῳ Νικολάῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπειπών, αὐτὸς μὲν ἠφαντώθη ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, ἔμεινε δὲ μόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κηδεμόνι τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Νικολάῳ παρομαρτῶν καὶ προσανακείμενος. ὁ δὲ μέγας Νικόλαος τὰ πρὸς σιτισμὸν αὐτῷ ἄρασθαι διεκελεύετο, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μηδὲν ἔχειν ὁ διατραφίσεται, ὁ τοῦ κυρίου γνήσιος θεράπων Νικόλαος θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ διακελευσάμενος, εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν ἐκείσε κήπων παρεγγυήσατο, κάκειθεν ὅσα βούλοιτο τῶν ὀπωρῶν ἑαυτῷ ἀποκομίσασθαι· οὐπὲρ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς διατροφήν εὐπορήσαντος, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὁ μέγας χειραγωγῶν Νικόλαος ἕως εἰς Ῥωμανίαν ἀβλαβῇ διεκόμισεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Γραικῶν ἐπέβη γῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ μὲν ἅγιος εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπηλλάττετο, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπών, “καιρὸς σοι, ἀδελφε Πέτρε, τὰς συνθήκας ἐκπληρῶσαι ταχύτατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ πάλιν τῷ Σαμαρᾷ ἀποκομίσῃ ὡς δέσμιος.” ὁ δὲ ἅμα μὲν καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀναβολῆς δεδιὼς τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον θεραπεύειν ἐκμηχανόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ οἰκίῳ οἰκῶ ἀπελθών, οὐδὲ μὲν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἢ γνωρῆμοις ἑαυτὸν φανερῶσας, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς σπουδῆς ἀναχαιτισθῇ, τάχους ὡς εἶχε πρὸς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Κυρίῳ τὰς εὐχὰς μετ’ ἐξομολογήσεως, ἃς διέστειλε τὰ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ. καὶ σκόπει μοι ἐνταῦθα, ὦ φιλότης τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, τῆς τοῦ παμμάκαρος Νικολάου κηδεμονίας τὸ ἀσύγκριτον, πῶς ὥσπερ πατὴρ φιλόστοργος καὶ συμπαθής, ἢ ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸς ἄριστος τῷ αὐτῷ προσανεχκότι¹ συμπαρομαρτεῖ, οὕτως αὐτῷ συνοδοιπόρει, ἐπηκολούθει, προέτρεχε, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προωμάλιζε, τὰ ὀπισθεν ἐπερρώννε, κατευοδῶν ἐν ἅπασι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστη τούτου ἕως ἂν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ προσῆξεν ὡς ἐπεχείρησεν. ἄρτι γὰρ τότε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγγιζόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀγνοούντος, ἀγνοουμένου δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸ² τηνικαῦτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προεδρεύοντι ὁ μέγας αὐτὸν κατάδηλον καὶ ἐμφανῇ παρίστησι Νικόλαος, νύκτωρ τῷ Πάπᾳ ἐπιστάς, τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ χεῖρας κρατῶν, αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὑπεδείκνυνεν, ὅπως μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾷ ἀνερρῦσατο, καὶ ὅπως εὐχὴν ἔχει ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀποκείρασθαι σηκῶ καθεξῆς προσδιηγούμενος, γνωρίσας αὐτῷ ἅμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα,

II, 1.
His journey to Rome.

2.
S. Nicolaus and the Pope.

¹ sic.

² sic cod.

Πέτρον αὐτὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι εἰπών, σπεύδειν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ Πάπᾳ ὑποθέμενος, ὡς ἂν τάχιον τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς περατώσει. διυπνισθεῖς οὖν ὁ Πάπας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ^{3.} κορυφαίου τέμενος ἀπιών, ἦν γὰρ κυριακὴ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ^{Peter in S. Peter's in Rome, and his interview with the Pope.} πάντας περιεσκόπει καὶ τῶν προσαπαντῶντων κατενόει τὰ πρόσωπα, εἰ ἄρα τὸν δειχθέντα αὐτῷ καθ' ὕπνου ἀναγνωριεῖ καὶ θεάσεται. καὶ δὴ τὸ πλήθος προσανεσχηκὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ὄρᾳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μέσον τῶν ἄλλων ἰστάμενον· νεύμασι δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ δις τοῦτον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὡς εἶδε μὴ ὑπακούοντα, ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν ἐπιβοᾶν ἐπεχείρησε, “Πέτρε” λέγων “ὁ ἀπὸ Γραικίας ἐληλυθώς, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἶ ὃν ὁ μέγας Νικόλαος ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπελυτρώσατο;” τοῦ δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ὁμολογήσαντος, καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θαμβηθέντος τοῦ ἀκούσματος, ὁ Πάπας αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο “μηδὲν θαυμάσης, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε,” λέγων, “ὅτι ἐξ ὀνόματός σε ἐκάλεσα, ὃν οὐδέποτε τεθέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ πολὺς καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος νύκτωρ μοι ἐπιστὰς ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ σε ἐνεφάνησε, καὶ ὡς ἦκεις ἀποθριζόμενος καὶ τὰς εὐχάς σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποπληρώσων.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πάπας ^{III, 1.} καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποκείρας, θεῷ τοῦτον, ὡς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, ^{His departure from Rome.} καθιέρωσε. καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντως ἄνθρωπος, κατηχηθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ὠφέλειαν συντείνοντα, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ῥώμης, εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Πάπα “πορεύου, τέκνον, ὁ κύριος ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθύναι τὴν ὁδόν σου, στηρίζων πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν, καὶ διαφυλάττων σε ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδιῶν.” πεσὼν οὖν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Πάπα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν “σώζου, τίμιε πάτερ, σώζου, μαθητὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὑπήκοε τοῦ ἐγγυητοῦ καὶ ῥύστου μου τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου,” καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν τὸν τε κλῆρον ἅπαντα ἐξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως, δεόμενος θεοῦ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μὴ ἐνδύναι¹ προθέσεως, εὐρὼν δὲ πλοῖον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν. ἦν ^{2.} δὲ ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ πλεύσαντες ἡμέρας ἐφ' ἱκανὰς ^{His voyage and miracle of healing.} κατήντησαν ἐν τινι χωρίῳ, καὶ τὴν ναῦν προσορμίσαντες ἐξῆλθον οἱ ναυτικοὶ τοῦ ὀπτήσαι ἄρτους. ἀπελθόντες οὖν ἐν τινι οἰκίσκῳ εὗρον πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶς ἔχοντας, ὀπτήσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ καθίσαντες πρὸς ἐστίασιν

¹ sic cod.

λέγουσιν ἐνὶ αὐτῶν, “λαβὼν ἄρτον ζέοντα ἀποκόμισον τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ ἀββᾷ ἡμῶν.” ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν· ὁ τοῦ οἴκου κύριος περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ, λέγει τοῖς ναύταις “κύριοί μου, ἐλθέτω ὁ πατήρ, καὶ εὐλογησάτω ἐμὲ σὲ καὶ τὸν υἱόν μου, ὅτι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ προσεγγίζομεν τῇ χαλεπῇ ταύτῃ, ὡς ὁράτε, ἀρρωστίᾳ περιπεσόντες.” τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι ἀπελθόντες ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ ἀββᾷ· τὴν ἄκραν δὲ ταπείνωσιν περικείμενος καὶ μὴ θέλων ἑαυτὸν ἐμφανίσαι, πορευθῆναι σὺν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐβούλετο· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι εἰς αὐτὰς κατήντησαν τοῦ θανάτου πύλας, κατηφειῶν ἅμα καὶ σκυθρωπάζων μετ’ αὐτῶν διήνυσεν τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς δὲ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ οἴκου προσήγγισαν, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ “χαίρε” τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ φθεγξαμένου, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὥσπερ ἐκ βαρυτάτου κάρου εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, ἀνέθωρε τῆς κλίνης ὁ ἀσθενῶν, καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ὁσίου, καὶ τούτους μετὰ δακρύων περιπτυσσόμενος, ἀνέστη ἐρρωμένος καὶ ὑγιής, παραδόξου τυχὼν τῆς ἰάσεως. ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὁσίου χειρός, διέδραμε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀσθενούντων κλινίδια, καὶ ποιούντος τοῦ ὁσίου τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, εὐθέως ἰῶντο οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατισχημένοι. ἰασάμενος οὖν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀρρώστους αὐθις ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ πάντα τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ οἱ ναῦται, καὶ δεδωκότες δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, πεσόντες ἅμα προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. ὁ οὖν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὁ τῆς ἰάσεως τυχὼν πανοικί, λαβὼν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ διαβαστάζων αὐτά· ὁ δὲ μέγας πατήρ ἡμῶν Πέτρος τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ προαίνεσιν ἀπεδέξατο, λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὰ οὐ παρεδέχετο. καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἅμα τοῖς συνελθούσιν αὐτῷ ἔκλαιον ὅμου πικρῶς, λέγοντες “δοῦλε γνήσιε τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰ μὴ μικρὰν ταύτην εὐλογίαν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν λήψῃ, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ παλινostroῦμεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἡμῶν.” μόλις δὲ πεισθεὶς ὁ πατήρ, τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πάντων δυσωπησάντων πρὸς τοῦτο, λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κατεδέξατο· καὶ χαίροντες ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ τούτου θεράποντι. τούτων οὕτω γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δοξάσαντος ἐν πᾶσι τὸν ἴδιον οἰκέτην, τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπάραντες οἱ ναυτικοὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω πορείας εἶχοντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τροφή τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς

ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ἀπ' ἐσπέρας εἰς ἐσπέραν, οὐγκία ἄρτον· ἡ δὲ the reve-
 πόσις ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου ὕδατος ἐνὸς μικροῦ βανκαλίου. lation of
 καὶ διαπλεύσαντες ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, καὶ ἐν τινι ἡσυχῇ τόπῳ Mount
 προσορμοθέντες,¹ μικροῦ μετασχῶν ὕπνου ὁ θεοφόρος Πέτρος Athos.
 ὁρᾷ τὴν πανάχραντον θεοτόκον μετὰ τινος ὑπερβαλλούσης
 αἰγλης φανείσαν, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Νικόλαον αἰδοῖ καὶ φόβῳ
 καὶ συστολῇ πλησιάζοντα, καὶ ἱκετικῶς λέγοντα αὐτῇ
 “δέσποινα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κυρία, ἐπείπερ τὸν δοῦλόν σου
 τοῦτον τῆς χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας ἐλευθερῶσαι ἠθέ-
 λησας, δυσωπήθητι ὑποδεῖξαι τούτῳ καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν
 ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διατελέσει χρόνον, τὰ φίλα θεῷ
 διαπράττων.” καὶ στραφείσά φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ θεοτόκος
 “ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄθω ὄρει ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ εἰς
 κλῆρον ἐμὸν αἰτησαμένη εἵληφα παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ
 θεοῦ, ὅπως οἱ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀναχωροῦντες συγχύσεων, καὶ
 τῶν πνευματικῶν, ὅση δύναμις, ἀντεχόμενοι, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν
 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ πίστει καὶ διαθέσει ψυχῆς ἐπικαλούμενοι ὄνομα,
 τὴν τε παροῦσαν ζωὴν ἀμέριμνον διανύωσι, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν
 δι' ἔργων θεαρέστων κληρονομῶσι. πάνν γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς
 ἔχω τούτου,² καὶ λίαν μου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπευφραίνεται,
 καὶ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε πλησθήσεται τοῦ
 τάγματος τῶν μοναχῶν ἀπ' ἄκρων ἕως ἄκρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ
 ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν σωτηριῶν
 ἐντολῶν ἀντέχονται, εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ
 διασκεδασθήσεται. καὶ πλατυνῶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νότον καὶ
 βορρᾶν τοῦ εἰρημένου ὄρους, καὶ κατακυριεύσουσιν αὐτοῦ
 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ
 τῇ ὑψηλίῳ περιβόητον θήσω, καὶ τῶν διακαρτερούντων ἐν
 αὐτῷ ὑπερασπιῶ.” ἀλλ' ὄρα μοι πᾶς ὁ παρατυγχάνων
 τῷδε τῷ διηγήματι δεσπότου μὲν ἄκραν φιλανθρωπίαν,
 δούλου δὲ συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς ὁμόδουλον, καὶ
 δεσποίνης πρὸς οἰκέτην κηδεμονίαν καὶ προστασίαν· ἐννοεῖ
 δέ μοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁσίου Πέτρου ἀκραιφνεστάτην πίστιν,
 ἥτις πάντα τὰ δυσχερῆ κατευμάρισε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἣν
 ἠῤῥατο τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδοθῆναι πεποίηκε. διωπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ
 μακάριος ἀκμαίαν ἔτι τὴν ὀπτασίαν ἔχων ἠὐχαρίστησε τῷ
 θεῷ, καὶ τῇ πανάγῳ τούτου μητρί, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ
 Νικολάῳ. ἦν δὲ ὥρα ὥσεί τρίτη, καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου

¹ sic cod.² sic cod.

4.
His arrival at
Mount
Athos.

τυχόντες ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες· ἐγγισάντων δὲ ἤδη τῷ τοῦ Ἄθω ὄρους ἀκροτηρίῳ, αἴφνης ἔστη τὸ πλοῖον, τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔτι πνέοντος καὶ τὰ ἰστία πληροῦντος, καὶ διηπόρουν οἱ ναυτικοί, πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες “τί ἄρ’ ἐστὶ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, καὶ τίς ἡ παράδοξος αὕτη καινοτομία, ὅτι ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χάσματι πελάγους, ἀνέμου ἐπιτηδείου ὄντος, τὸ σκάφος ἔστη παρ’ ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω πορείας;” ταῦτα ἀπορούντων αὐτῶν μέγα στενάξας ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἅγιος “τεκνία θέλοντα μαθεῖν με καὶ ἐρωτοῦντα, εἵπατέ μοι, ἴσως γὰρ τῆς διαπορήσεως ὑμῶν ἐπιλύτης ἔσομαι, τίς ἡ κλήσις τοῦ τόπου τούτου;” οἱ δὲ εἶπον “τὸ ἅγιόν ἐστὶν ὄρος, τίμιε πάτερ, ὅπερ ἀρχήθεν τὴν τοῦ Ἄθω εἴληφε προσηγορίαν.” καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς “τάχα δι’ ἐμὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο γέγονε σήμερον, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐξενέγκαντες ἐάσητέ με, περαιτέρω προβῆναι οὐ δύνασθε.” οἱ δὲ δάκρυσι συσχεθέντες, τὰ ἰστία χαλάσαντες τῇ γῇ προσήγγισαν, καὶ τοῦτον μετ’ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἐκβάλλοντες εἶσαν ἐκείσε, λέγοντες αὐτῷ ὅτι “μεγάλης σκέπης καὶ βοηθείας ὑστερήθημεν σήμερον, σοῦ διαιρεθέντος ἡμῶν.” καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πρὸς αὐτοὺς “τί οὕτως ὀλολύζετε, καὶ ἐαυτοὺς κατασπαράσσετε, τέκνα, δι’ ἐμὲ τὸν πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀνάπλεον; ὁ θεὸς ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, αὐτὸς καὶ ὑμῖν συνοδεύσει, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθοεργίᾳ τηρήσει, κάμοι χεῖρα βοηθείας ὀρέξει ἀπαρχὴν ποιουμένῳ πολιτείας θεοφιλοῦς.” οὕτως εἰπὼν, καὶ τὸν ἐν κυρίῳ δεδωκὼς αὐτοῖς ἀσπασμὸν τρίτον ἐπελάβετο τῆς νηὸς, καὶ τῷ τιμῷ σταυρῷ σφραγίσας, καὶ ἐπειπὼν “πορεύεσθε ἀδελφοί ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὁ κύριος εἴη μεθ’ ὑμῶν,” ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκρορείας ἐκείνης τὸ ἀνωφερὲς τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δύσβατον ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ διελθὼν καὶ κόπῳ, πρὸς τι πεδίον ἐγένετο ὀμαλὸν καὶ εὐάερον, καὶ μικρὸν τῶν πόνων ἀνεθείς, πάλιν ἤρξατο διερχόμενος περισκοπεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀνάπανσις αὐτοῦ ἔσται. πολλοὺς δὲ χειραμὸν καὶ νάπας καὶ γηλόφους διελθὼν εὔρε σπήλαιον πάνυ μὲν σκοτεινόν, ὕλῃ δὲ βαθεῖα περιεστοιχισμένον, ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον ἐρπετῶν ἔσμος ἦν, ὥς ὑπερβαίνειν οὐρανίων ἀστέρων πλήθος, καὶ θαλαττίαν ἄμμον, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐνεφώλεον πλήθη, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἡγειραν σμήνος πειρασμῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὥς μήτε γλῶσσαν

IV, 1.
His cave
on Mount
Athos full
of vermin
and
devils.

χωρεῖν ἀφηγεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀκοῇ παραδέχεσθαι. τινὰ γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὅλης ἐκείνης διατεμῶν ἅ τὴν θεόδμητον ἔσκεπον τοῦ σπηλαίου θύραν, κατώκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς θερμῶς ἀναπέμπων. οὐπω δὲ τὸν δεύτερον τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦ ἁγίου καιρὸν διανύσαντος, τὸ καρτερικώτατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τολμηρὸν μὴ φέρων ὁ αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπιβασκαίνων Σατάν, ἄρας τὴν πανστρατιὰν αὐτοῦ μετὰ βελῶν καὶ τόξων, εἴσεισι μόνος ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἔνθα ὁ μακάριος τὸν τῆς μαρτυρικῆς ἀθλήσεως διήνυν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λίθους παμμεγέθεις, ὥσπερ κυλίοντες ἔξωθεν, μετὰ φωνῶν καὶ κραυγῶν ἔπεμπον κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ταῦτα ὀρώντα τὸν ἅγιον λέγειν ὅτι “πάντως πέφθακέ μου τὸ πέρασ καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀριθμηθήσομαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν προστάτης τούτων ἔνδον ἦν τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῦ πανοπλία τὰ τόξα κατέχοντες ἐδόκουν πέμπειν κατὰ τοῦ ὁσίου φονίως· ὥς δὲ τῇ ἄνωθεν χάριτι ἀσινῆς διετηρεῖτο, λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῷ “ἐξελεύσωμαι τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ γνώσομαι τίς ἡ τοσαύτη μαγία, καὶ τί τῶν συνειλεγμένων τὸ σύνταγμα.” καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἶδε τὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα κύκλῳ τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐστῶτα, καὶ κραυγαῖς ἀφορήτοις καὶ φοβεραῖς ὄψεσιν οἰζηδὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιόντα, καὶ τὸ ὄμμα πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατίνας τὴν Θεοτόκον ἐπεκαλεῖτο πρὸς συμμαχίαν, εἰρηκῶς οὕτως “ἁγία Θεοτόκε, βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου.” καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἀκούσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ περιπόθητον ἡμῖν τῆς Θεοτόκου ὄνομα, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα γεγόνασιν ἄφαντοι. εἵχετο οὖν πάλιν τῶν ἀγώνων ὁ ἅγιος ἑαυτὸν ἐκδεδωκὼς τῷ σπηλαίῳ, καὶ προσευχόμενος ἔλεγε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς “κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς μου, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με,” καὶ οὐκέτι ἠκούοντο φωναὶ μέχρι καιροῦ τινος. μετὰ ταῦτα πεντήκοντα παρελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, πάλιν τῷ προτέρῳ χρησά-
μενοι σχήματι οἱ ταλαίπωροι ὀπλίζονται κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ κινουσι πᾶν ἔρπετον ἰοβόλον καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τρέχειν ἐποιοῦν οἱ ἀλιτῆριοι, τὰ δὲ χάσμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ ζῶντα πειρᾶσθαι καταπιεῖν τὸν δίκαιον, ἄλλα δὲ ἔρπειν καὶ συρίττειν καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὀρᾶν παρεσκεύαζον. ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τούτους τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ

2.
The first
attempt
of the
devils.

3.
Second
attempt
of the
devils.

4.
Third
attempt
of the
devils.

ἐκνευρισμένους τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀχράντως¹ τοῦτον τεκούσης μητρὸς πάντας ἐφυγάδευσε. χρόνου οὖν πληρωθέντος ἑνός, καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἀσκούντος τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου, καὶ ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ καθαιρουντος τὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑψώματα καὶ τεχνάσματα, δεινὸν ποιεῖται ὁ ἀλάστωρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡρεμίαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. καὶ ὅρα οἷα αὐτῷ μεμηχάνευται μετασχηματισθεῖς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων εἰς ἓνα τῶν οἰκιακῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ὁρομαίως ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ ἀναιδῶς περιπτυσσάμενος, αὐτὸν φιλεῖν ὑποκρινόμενος ὁ τοῦ μίσους ἀνάπλεος, καθίσας ἤρξατο κλαίειν καὶ λέγειν οὕτως· “ἀκηκόαμεν, κύριε ἡμῶν, πῶς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρᾶν ἀπηνέχθεις, καὶ τῇ κακῇ καὶ ζοφώδῃ ἐκείνῃ εἰρκτῇ παρεδόθης, πῶς δὲ ὁ θεὸς εὐχαῖς τοῦ παμμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκείνου ὡσαπύλυτο² ἐκβαλὼν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῇ σε ἀποκατέστησε, διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, ἅμα ἐμοὶ τῷ μάλιστα περικαιομένῳ τὴν καρδίαν, σῆς θέας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἔνεκεν πενθοῦσιν ἀπαρηγόρητα· πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ὅτι πλείστας διαδραμόντες οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν τῆς ἐφέσεως ἐπιτυχεῖν, καὶ τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἡμῖν κατιδεῖν πρόσωπον, ἀπορία δὲ συσχεθέντες, δάκρυσι καὶ δεήσεσι τὸν μέγαν ἐπικαλούμεθα Νικόλαον, ἐκλιπαροῦντες, ὦ γλυκύτατε, ἀποκαλύψαι ἡμῖν, ὅπου περ ἂν ἦς, τὸν κεκρυμμένον σε θησαυρόν· καὶ οὐ παρῆδεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνάξιον ὁ ἐν πᾶσι θερμός, ἀλλ’ ἀπεκάλυψε τάχιστα, τὰ κατὰ σε φανερώσας. νῦν οὖν, κύριέ μου, ἄκουσόν μου, καὶ πορευθῶμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν (οἶδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ὠραίος καὶ περικαλλής ἐστι) καὶ ἴδωσι πάντες τὸ αὐτοῖς σε ποθοῦμενον πρόσωπον, καὶ δοξασθῇ θεὸς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὁ αἰεὶ δοξαζόμενος. περὶ δὲ ἡσυχίας μὴ ἔστω σοι φροντίς, κακεῖ γὰρ καὶ μοναστήριά εἰσι πάμπολλα καὶ ἡσυχαστήρια, ἐν οἷς τὸν ἅπαντά σου βίον ἡσυχαστικῶς διανύσεις. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας λέγε μοι, τί τῶν δύο μάλιστα θεὸς θεραπεύεται; ἀναχωρήσει κόσμου καὶ ἐρημία καὶ ἡσυχία, τῇ τε τῶν ἀπορρώγων πετρῶν καὶ φαράγγων τούτων διατριβῇ, ἐν οἷς σαυτὸν μόνον, τάχα δ’ οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν ἥκιστα ὠφελήσεας, ἢ ἀνθρώπων διδασκαλία καὶ ὁδηγία καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστροφῇ ἐκ τῆς πλάνης; ἔγωγε οἶμαι ὡς

¹ sic.

² sic cod.

μίας ψυχῆς ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπιστροφή πολλῶν ἐρημικῶν ὑπερακοντίσει ἀγῶνας, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μοι τῷ λόγῳ ὁ λέγων ‘ὁ ἀνάγων ἄξιον ἐξ ἀναξίου ὡς στόμα μου ἔσται.’ πολλὰ δὲ πλήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν εἰσιν αἱ ἐν μυρίοις πάθεσι πλανώμενα, καὶ χρήζουσιν εἰκότως τοῦ μετὰ θεὸν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσοντος· μυρίος οὖν ἀποκείται σοι μισθός, εἴ γε τοὺς πλανωμένους ἐλθὼν ἐπιστρέψῃς πρὸς θεόν. λοιπὸν οὖν τί μέλλει; τί τὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὀλοκαρδίως φιλοῦντός σε οἰκέτου ἀναδύη ὁδόν;” ταῦτα τοῦ δαίμονος λέγοντος καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ μετὰ δακρύων, ἤρξατο διαταράττεσθαι καὶ ὁ ἅγιος, καὶ δάκρυσι βρέχων τὸ πρόσωπόν φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἄγγελος οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἔφερε με, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἡ πανάχραντος αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἡ Θεοτόκος, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῇ ἐκείνων γνώμῃ καὶ προτροπῇ τῶν ὧδε χωρισθῶ, ἄλλως οὐ χωρίζομαι.” ἅμα δὲ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν δαίμονα τὸ τῆς θεοτόκου ὄνομα εὐθέως ἄφαντος γέγονε, καὶ θαυμάσας ὁ ἅγιος τὴν σκαιωρίαν τοῦ δαίμονος, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα πεποιηκώς, πάλιν ἠσύχασε. νηστεία δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ ἐγκρατεία πολλῇ, καὶ προσευχαῖς ἀνενδότοις σχολάζων, εἰς ἄκρον ἔφθασε ταπεινώσεως καὶ μέτρον ἀγάπης εἰλικρινούς καὶ νοὸς καθαρότητα· διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἠδημῶνει καὶ ἔσπενδεν ὁ παμπόνηρος τὸν τόνον αὐτοῦ χαλάσαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ῥοπῆς ἀναστεῖλαι, καὶ μετὰ παραδρομὴν χρόνων ἑπτὰ εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς μετασχηματισθεὶς, ἐσπασμένην ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν, ἔστη πλησίον τῆς τοῦ σπηλαίου ὀπῆς, καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ ὀνόματος ἔφη “Πέτρε, θέραπον Χριστοῦ, ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι λόγους καλοῦς.” καὶ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος “σὺ τίς εἰ ὁ λόγους μοι ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ὠφελήμους;” καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς “ἐγὼ εἰμὶ κυρίου ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σε. ἴσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου καὶ χαῖρε καὶ ἀγαλλία, ὅτι θρόνος θεῖος ἡτοιμάσται καὶ στέφανος ἀμαράντινος. νῦν οὖν τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καταλιπὼν πορεύθητι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς στήριγμα καὶ ὠφέλειαν πολλῶν· κύριος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἐξήρανε τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν πλησίον σου, διὰ τὰς τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς κατὰ σοῦ γινομένας, ὅπως ἀποψύξωσιν ὕδατος μὴ μετέχοντα.” ἦν δὲ ὁ πάνσοφος ἐν κακίᾳ οὗτος προ-
αποστείλας δαίμονα κωλύοντα καὶ διακατέχοντα τὴν τοῦ

5.
Fourth
attempt
of the
devils.

ὕδατος ῥύμην. τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ ἅγιος ἔφη ἐν ταπεινώσει
 “τίς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ κύων, ἵνα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με;”
 καὶ ὁ δαίμων, “μὴ θαυμάσῃς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς τούτοις σὺ
 νενίκηκας καὶ Μωσῆν καὶ Ἡλίαν καὶ Δανιήλ, καὶ μέγας
 ἐκλήθης ἐν οὐρανοῖς διὰ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ὑπομονῆς σου· τὸν
 γὰρ Ἡλίαν ὑπερβέβηκας τῇ ἀσιτίᾳ, τὸν Δανιήλ τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς
 καὶ θηρίοις, τὸν Ἰὼβ τῇ καρτερίᾳ. νῦν οὖν ἀναστὰς θέασαι
 τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος λείψιν, καὶ ταχέως ἐξελθὼν τῶν ὧδε ἄπελθε
 ἐν μοναστηρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, κακεῖ ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ
 ὠφελήσω πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.” καὶ
 ὁ ἅγιος “ἐγὼ, γίνωσκε, εἰὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἢ ἐν πᾶσι συνεργούσά
 μοι Θεοτόκος, καὶ ὁ θερμὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἄρωγός Νικό-
 λαος, τῶν ὧδε οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι.” ἅμα δὲ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς
 Θεοτόκου τὸ ὄνομα εὐθὺς ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐγένετο τοῦ ἁγίου ὁ
 δαίμων, καὶ γνοὺς τὰ τεχνάσματα τοῦ διαβόλου ὁ ἅγιος
 καὶ τὴν¹ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἅπασιν ἀσθένειαν, προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον
 λέγων οὕτως “ὁ μὲν ἐχθρός, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεός
 μου, ὠρυόμενος περιέρχεται ζητῶν καταπιεῖν με, ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ
 κραταίᾳ χειρὶ σου περιφρουρεῖς με, τὸν δούλόν σου, διὸ καὶ
 εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστης ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.” ταῦτα λέγων ἡσύ-
 χασε, καὶ τῇ ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ² νυκτὶ ἀφυπνῶσαντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς
 εἰώθει, μικρόν, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἡ ταχεῖα τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοή-
 θεια, ἡ φιλάνθρωπος θεοτόκος, ἅμα Νικολάῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ
 φασὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μὴ δειλιάσῃς, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς
 μετὰ σοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναντηρήτως² αὔριον ἀποστέλλεται
 ἄγγελος τροφὴν οὐρανίαν κομίζων σοι· τοῦτο δὲ προτετα-
 γμένος ἐστὶ κατὰ τεσσαρακοντήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς δεῦρο ποιεῖν,
 ὑποδείξει δέ σοι καὶ τὸ μάννα πρὸς τροφήν.” καὶ ταῦτα
 εἰπόντες, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτῷ δεδοκότες ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ
 πεσὼν προσεκίνησε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἴσταντο,
 καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἔρχεται ὁ ἄγγελος ὑψώθεν ἐπιφερόμενος
 τὰς οὐρανίους τροφάς, καὶ ὑποδείξας τὸ μάννα, καθὼς ἡ
 θεοτόκος ὑπέσχετο, ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. εὐχαριστήσας δὲ
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἡσύχασε καταμόνας ἀσκῶν,
 καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδιδούς ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία,
 ἐξέλιπον δὲ καὶ αἱ πυκναὶ φαντασίαι τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν
 ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ. ἐν
 δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις χρόνοις οὐχ ἑώρακε φύσιν ἀνθρώπου,

6.
The vision
of the
Theoto-
kos and
the gift of
manna.

7.
The last
fifty-three
years of
his life.

¹ καὶ τὴν vel νῦ τὴν (sine accent.) sic cod.

² sic cod.

οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ τροφή πλὴν τοῦ μάννα, οὐκ ἔνδυμα, οὐ σκέπη, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅσα χρήζει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχων στέγην, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀγαπώμενον κλινίδιον, οὕτως ἐπανεπαύετο ὁ μακάριος· ἐν καύματι μὲν καίόμενος, ἐν ἀνέμῳ δὲ καὶ χιόνι ψυχόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν μισθαποδοσίαν. ὅτε οὖν ἠθέλησεν ὁ Κύριος φανερωσάιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἰκονομίαν τοιόνδε τὸν τρόπον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε. θηρευτὴς τις τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φάρετραν λαβὼν ἐξῆλθε θηρεῦσαι κατὰ τὸ ὄρος· πολλὰς δὲ λόγμιας φάραγξι βαθείαις ἐναποκρήμνους καὶ τὰς ὑλώδεις ραχίας τοῦ ὄρους παραμειψάμενος, ἐγένετο κατ' ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος, ἔνθα ὁ ἅγιος τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἡσπάζετο πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον ἦν ἐμπορευόμενος πλοῦτον. καὶ ἰδοὺ παμμεγέθης ἔλαφος τοῦ πλησιάζοντος τῷ σπηλαίῳ δρυμοῦ ἐξελθὼν σκιρτῶν πως ἤλατο ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρευτοῦ· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπερμεγέθη τε ὄντα καὶ σφόδρα ὠραῖον, τᾶλλα πάντα καταλιπὼν ἠκολούθει τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ ἔλαφος ὁδηγούμενος ἐλθὼν ἔστη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου, κατίχνος δὲ βαίνοντος τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, καὶ περισκοποῦντος ποίῳ τρόπῳ περιγένηται τοῦ ζώου, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι ἀτενίσαντι ἀνὴρ βαθὺς μὲν τὴν ὑπὴν, καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας μέχρι τῆς μήτρας καθιεμένας ἔχων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἅπαν γεγυμνωμένον καὶ παντὸς ἐστερημένον ἐνδύματος· ὃν ἰδὼν καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ὁράματος ἐκπληκτος γεγονώς, ἐδειλίασε σφόδρα, καὶ τὸ θήραμα καταλιπὼν ὀπισθόρμητος εἶη, καὶ φεύγειν ὅση δύναμις ἤρξατο. ἑωρακὼς δὲ τοῦτον ὁ μακάριος φυγῇ χρησάμενός φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ “τί φοβῇ; τί ταραττῇ; τί με φεύγεις, ἀδελφέ; καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι, ὡς καὶ σύ, καὶ οὐ φάσμα δαιμόνιον ὡς ὑπέλαβες, δεῦρο πρὸς με, καὶ ἔγγισον, καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέστείλε σε ὁ κύριος.” ἐμφόβου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποστρέψαντος καὶ θάμβους πλήρους, ἀσπασάμενος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ θαρρεῖν προτρέψάμενος, καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ τάξιν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ ἀνδρί· τὴν τε κάθειρξιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τῷ Σαμαρᾷ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρυσιν τὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς Νικολάου

V, 1.
His discovery by
a hunter.

2.
The effect
on the
hunter.

γενομένην, καὶ τῷ ποίῳ τρόπῳ κατῴκησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ πῶς παρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων διαφόρως ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πῶς ἐτρέφετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, καὶ πῶς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τὸ μάννα ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὅπως τῇ τούτου καὶ μόνη τροφῇ διήρκεσεν ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία, καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ διεσάφησε τῷ ἀνδρί. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ ἐννεὸς γενόμενος ἔφη τῷ ἀγίῳ, “νῦν ἔγνω ὅτι κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, καὶ ὑπέδειξέ μοι, ὦ πάτερ, κεκρυμμένον σε τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα. καὶ γὰρ τοίνυν μετὰ σοῦ ἔσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ σὺν σοὶ τὸν σωτήριον διανύσω ἀγῶνα.” ὁ δὲ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν “οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἀπελθε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, καὶ τὸ ἐπιλαγχάνον σοι μέρος τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομίας διάδος τοῖς δεομένοις, ἀπόσχου τε οἴνου, καὶ κρεῶν, καὶ τυροῦ καὶ ἐλαίου, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός, καὶ ἐπιμελήθητι εὐχῶν, καὶ προσοχῆς, καὶ ψυχῆς συντετριμμένης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ ἐλθὲ πρὸς με, καὶ εἴ τί μοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀποκαλύψει, τοῦτο καὶ γενήσεται.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρραβῶνα δούς τῷ θηρευτῇ, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια εἰρηκώς, “σὺ μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πορεύου, τέκνον, τὸ δὲ μυστήριον φύλαττε, θησαυρὸς γὰρ φανερούμενος εὐάλωτος ἔσται κλέπταις, καὶ εὐεπιχείρητος.” καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ θηρευτῆς τὸν μὲν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἐποίησε καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐντολῆς, λαβὼν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ δύο μοναχοὺς καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, ἐπορεύθησαν ἅμα εὐρόντες πλοιάριον, καὶ δὴ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καθώρμισαν ἐν τῷ ἀκροθινίῳ, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πόθῳ πολλῷ ἀψάμενοι, ἀνέρχονται εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον. καὶ θεὰ μοι, ὦ φιλότης, τὸ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας ἀπόρρητον, προλαβὼν γὰρ πάντας ὁ θηρευτῆς, ἅτε δὴ καὶ ζήλῳ θερμότερῳ κινούμενος, εὔρε τὸν μακάριον τεθνεῶτα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας σταυροειδῶς δεδεμένας ἔχοντα, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εὐσχημόνως κεκαλυμμένους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα σεμνῶς ἐπὶ γῆς κείμενον καὶ ἐσχηματισμένον. ἰδὼν δὲ οὕτως τὸν ἅγιον κείμενον τῇ λύπῃ ὥσπερ ἑκπληκτος γεγονώς, ταῖς χερσὶ κρούσας τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπεσε χαμαί, οἰμωγῇ καὶ κλαυθοῖς καὶ ὀδυρμοῖς συνεχόμενος. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ συνελθόντες αὐτῷ μοναχοὶ καταλαβόντες ἐκείσε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς καὶ νουθεσίας καὶ

3.
The discovery of the relics of Peter by the hunter.

ἐντολῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, ἔκλαυσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πικρῶς στερηθέντες τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμιλίας καὶ εὐχῆς. ὁ οὖν τοῦ θηρευτοῦ ἀδελφὸς πνεύματι κατέιχετο ἀκαθάρτῳ, καὶ ἅμα τὸ προσεγγίσαι καὶ ἄσφασθαι τοῦ λειψάνου ἦν ἰδεῖν φοβερώτατον θέαμα· σπαραγμοὶ γὰρ συνεχεῖς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατεσπάραττον, οἱ τε ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὕφαιμοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διάστροφοι, τὸ δὲ στόμα πλήρες ἀφροῦ, καὶ τρίζων τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐβόα λέγων “ὦ Πέτρε, οὐκ ἄρκει σοι τῶν πεντήκοντα τριῶν χρόνων ὁ διωγμὸς ὃν ἐποίησας εἰς ἐμέ, ἐξέώσας με τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν βούλει με καὶ ταύτης ἐκδιώξαι τῆς κατοικίας μου; οὐκ ἀκούσω σου, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθω.” καὶ βλέπόντων τῶν ἐστηκότων ἐγένετο φαιδρά τις καὶ περικαλλὴς ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄψις, καὶ πολλὰ σπάραξαν καὶ διατάραξαν αὐτὸν τὸ τῆς κακίας δαιμόνιον ἀπέστη ὥσει καπνὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃς πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφασία κατείχετο καὶ ἀφωνία, νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέρων, ἐπικαλεσαμένων δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ γέροντος καὶ τὴν δι’ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠγέρθη ἐρρωμένος καὶ σωφρονῶν, εἰπὼν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ, “εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριέ μου καὶ ἀδελφέ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ ἐν καλῷ ἦλθον ὧδε, καὶ ταύτης ὡς ὀρᾷς ἔτυχον ἰάσεως.” χαρὰ τοίνυν καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ ἀράμενοι λείψανον, εἶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ εἰσελθόντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἤνουν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἐπὶ βορρᾷν παραπλέοντες τοῦ ὅρου πλευράν. κατ’ οἰκονομίαν δὲ θεοῦ ἔστη τὸ πλοῖον ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐν ἰσῷ γενόμενον τῆς μονῆς, ἧς ἡ προσηγορία τὰ Κλήμεντος. μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ μονῆς ἀκούσαντες, ἡ γὰρ τῆς Θεοτόκου πρόρρησις ἤδη προβαίνειν ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ σταγόνος ὕδατος τῆς τῶν κατοικούντων ἐνδείας εὐαριθμήτου καὶ ὀλιγότητος, εἰς πέλαγος αὖξειν ἄπειρον καὶ πλατυσμὸν καὶ πληθος τὸ νυνὶ φαινόμενον ἢ τῶν καλῶν συνεργὸς ὥκονόμησε πρόνοιαν, ὅθεν εὐκαιρὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ εἰπόντος “ὡς καλοὶ σου οἱ οἶκοι Ἰακώβ, αἱ σκηναὶ σου Ἰσραὴλ, ἃς ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.” ἀπὸ ὥρας δὲ τρίτης ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης, καὶ κώπαις χρώμενοι καὶ ἰστία ἐφαπλοῦντες, καὶ ἄνεμον ἐπιτήδειον ἔχοντες μετακινήσαι τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἴσχυον. ὀρῶντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς μοναχοὶ τό τε πλοῖον

4.
The devil
and the
hunter's
brother.

VI, 1.
The jour-
ney of the
relics to
Clemen-
tos.

2.
The relics
at Cle-
mentos.

μὴ μετακινούμενον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη καὶ βία χρω-
μένους τοῦ περαιτέρω προιέναι, καὶ ἀστοχοῦντας, ἔκθαμβοι
ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἰκείῳ πορθμίῳ χρησάμενοι ἀπῆλθον πρὸς
αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο παρ' αὐτῶν τί ἂν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι.
οὐκ ἐβούλοντο δὲ οὗτοι φανερῶσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ μυστήριον,
ἀλλὰ πλασταῖς καὶ ψευδέσι χρώμενοι ἀπολογίαις ἔσπευδον
τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διασκεδάσαι. ἐπιγνόντες δὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ
ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ἐπίπλαστα, μόνον ἔνευσαν τὸ
πλοῖον πρὸς τὴν μονήν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ
τὴν γῆν. ἐμβριμησάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ προεστώς, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς
σφοδροτάταις χρησάμενος, κατὰ λεπτὸν ἔμαθε πάντα παρὰ
τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ λαμπάδων δραμόντες
ἦσαν τὸ λείψανον, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ ἦν
ιδεῖν πᾶσαν νόσον δραπετεύουσιν τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἀδελφῶν,
καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας αὐθωρὸν ἰωμένους· διαδραμούσα δὲ
ὥσπερ τις κῆρυξ ἡ φήμη οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθῶ ὄρει
συνήθροισε μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πλήθη ἄπειρα τῆς
περιχώρου, καὶ πάντες ἰῶντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο ᾧ δῆποτε
κατείχοντο νοσήματι. καὶ ἦν χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις
ἐν τε τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀθροισθεῖσι,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ὄντες μοναχοὶ
λαβόντες τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον ἤγαγον ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τοῦ
πανσέπτου ναοῦ τῆς παννυμνίου Θεοτόκου, ἔνθα εἰώθεισαν
τὰς ἐτησίους συναῖξεις ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀγρυπνίας
καὶ ὕμνωδίας ἀκαταπαύστους μέχρις ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, κατέθεντο
ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου,
ἀλώῃ καὶ σμύρνῃ καὶ διαφόροις ἀρώμασι μετὰ καθαρᾶς
σινδόνης εἰλίσσαντες, εἶχον δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ, ὅτι καὶ
πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους ἐθεράπευε καὶ μαλακίας. οὕτω
μὲν οἶν, τοῦ ἁγίου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ὄντος, καὶ
διαβοήτου τοῖς θαύμασι γενομένου, ὁ θηρευτὴς ἅμα τῷ ἰδίῳ
ἀδελφῷ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἐφόδιον αἰτησάμενοι,
τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν ἐπορεύθησαν χαίροντες. οἱ δὲ γε μονάζοντες
ἐκείνοι, οἱ τῷ θηρευτῇ συναναβάντες ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, κλοπο-
φορῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου βουλευσάμενοι,
ὑφάλῳ γνώμῃ καὶ κεκρυμμένῳ πλάσματι προσπεσόντες,
λέγουσι τοῖς πατράσι “γνωστὸν ἔστω ὑμῖν, θεοφόροι
πατέρες, ὥς οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὃν ὁ κύριος

3.
The theft
of the
relics
by the
strange
monks.

ἀπεκάλυψεν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν τὰς λοιπὰς
 ἡμέρας ἡμῶν διανύσομεν.” καὶ τῶν πατέρων μάλα περιχαρῶς
 δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον, ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς
 τῷ ἀπλάστῳ κοσμούμενοι, μικρὰς ἐκεῖνοι προσμείναντες
 ἡμέρας, εἰδότες ἔνθα τέθαπτο ὁ πατήρ, νυκτιλόχους ἐνέδρας
 ποιήσαντες, ὥσπερ τινες τυμβορύχοι, τῷ τάφῳ προσέδραμον,
 καὶ τοῦτον φόβῳ καὶ σπουδῇ διανοίξαντες, τὸ τίμιον ἔλαβον
 λείψανον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δρομαῖοι τὸν αἰγιαλὸν πεφθακότες,
 ἐν ἀκατίῳ προστοιχηθέντι ἐμβάντες, τοῦ ὄρους φυγάδες
 ᾤχοντο. τούτων αὐτίκοος καὶ αὐτόπτης ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐγὼ
 γεγωνὸς Νικόλαος ἔσπευσα, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἀλλ' οὖν
 ὀλίγα τινὰ ἐκθέσθαι, καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐντάξαι συγγράμματι,
 ὥς ἂν εἰδέειν οἱ μετέπειτα τοῦ κόσμου ἀνακεχωρηκότες καὶ
 τῷ ὅρει τούτῳ προσορμισθέντες, πῶς δεῖ περιπατεῖν αὐτοὺς,
 καὶ ποίας ἀντέχεσθαι πολιτείας, καὶ μεθ' οἷων ἀγώνων καὶ
 καμάτων καὶ πόνων ἢ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία κληρονομεῖται·
 ὥς οἱ γε ἀναπεπτωκότες, καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ραθυμοῦντες, καὶ μέγα
 τοῦτο μόνον ἡγούμενοι τὸ ραγῆναι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν
 κόσμῳ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀδεῶς διαπράττοντες, ἤγουν ἐπικτήσεις
 σκευῶν ποικίλων καὶ πολυτίμων καὶ ἀγρῶν καὶ κτημάτων
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοῖς φιλοκόσμοις καὶ φιλομερίμοις εἰς
 περισπούδαστα, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτοὺς ὠφελῆσαι· καὶ τοὺς
 ἀκούοντας καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας τὰ μέγιστα περιβλάπτουσι,
 καὶ βλασφημεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάζουσιν
 ὄνομα, πολυκτῆμονες ἀντὶ ἀκτημόνων ὀνομαζόμενοι, καὶ τοῦ
 τῆς γῆς πλούτου κύριοι, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλούτου ἀλλότριοι.
 ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό τινα τῶν ἀψευδῶς ἀποτασσομένων τῷ βίῳ
 τὴν ἐναντίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν πορεύεσθαι, τὴν στενὴν δὲ μᾶλλον
 προτιμᾶν τῆς πλατείας, καὶ τὴν πενίαν τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τῆς
 δόξης τὴν ἀδοξίαν, καὶ τῆς παρουσίας χαρᾶς τὴν νομιζομένην
 ἐπίπονον καρτερίαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ παρόντι βίῳ τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν τοῦ
 βίου διαναγᾷ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀναφαίρετον κληρονο-
 μήσωσι βασιλείαν, ἧς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ποθεινότερον ἢ τιμιώ-
 τερον, τοῖς γε νουν ἔχουσι, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν προτιμῶσι τοῦ
 ψεύδους. ἀλλ' ἐπαναληπτέον αὖθις τὸν λόγον, καὶ διηγητέον
 τὰ μετὰ τὴν κλοπὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρὸς
 γενόμενα θαύματα. ἄραντες τοίνυν οἱ μοναχοί, καθ' ὃν
 εἶπον τρόπον, τὸ σῶμα κατήχθησαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον Φώκομιν,

VII, 1.
 The relics
 outside
 Mount
 Athos.
 Arrival

at Pho-
camin.

2.
The "Chi-
liarch"
devil
at Pho-
camin.

τελοῦν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα Θράκην· ἦν δὲ πλησίον τούτου πηγῇ, καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ τὸ ἄριστον ἐτοιμάσαντες, τὴν μὲν πῆραν ἐν ἣ τὸ σῶμα τεθησαύριστο τοῦ ἁγίου, παρὰ φυτοῦ κλάδων ἀπηώρησαν ἐλαίας, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοσχεδίῳ καὶ λιτῇ χρησάμενοι τραπέζῃ εὐχαριστήσαντες ἤσθιον. οὕτω δὲ τὰ μέσα τοῦ ἀρίστου τούτων ἐχόντων, ἰδοὺ παμπληθεῖ οἱ τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἔρχονται, ἑαυτοὺς σπαράσσοντες καὶ ἀλαλάζοντες, καὶ Πέτρον τὸν μέγαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄθω ἐληλυθότα ἐπικαλούμενοι. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν ἀλλοιώσεως οὐ κατοκνήσω διηγῆσασθαι· στοά τις ἦν ἀρχαία τῆς κρήνης ἐγγύς, ἐν ἣ οἱ μοναχοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔψυχον, οὐ μόνον ὕψει ὑπερφερῆς καὶ πλάτει ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκης, ἣτις τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ ὕλῃ καταχωσθεῖσα οἰκητήριον ἐγένετο δαίμονος χιλιάρχου, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοσαῦτα ἐκείσε διέπραττεν, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους διαφθείρειν, καὶ δαίμοσι ὑποβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνους καὶ κύνας καὶ βόας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποπνίγειν· καὶ πολλὰ θλίψεις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἀδημονία ἦν περὶ τούτου. οὗτοι τοίνυν ἅμα τὸ πλησιάσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου, ἔφυγον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, ἐπεισέφρησαν¹ δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ καὶ πάντας ἐνθουσιᾶν, καὶ διαταράττεσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἐποιοῦν. ὥς δὲ τῷ φυτῷ καὶ τῇ πῆρᾳ σπαραγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ προσεπέλεσαν², ἦν ἰδεῖν θαῦμα τῶν πάλαι θαυμάτων παραδοξότερον· εὐθὺς ἀποπάντα τὰ δαιμόνια τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ θρηνητικῶς ὀλολύζοντα τῆς περιχώρου ἐκείνης ἐλαύνεσθαι. τίς δὲ καταλεπτὸν ἐξείποι, ἢ γραφὴ διασαφήσοι τῶν γενομένων τότε θαυμάτων τὰ ὑπὲρ ἅμμον πλήθη; μύρου γὰρ εὐωδεστάτου πλήρες γερόμενον παρ' αὐτήκα τὸ λείψανον, ἦν ἰδεῖν τῇ τούτου προφάσει δαιμονιῶντας σωφρονοῦντας, τυφλοὺς ὀρώντας, λεπρούς καθαιρομένους, κυλλοὺς ἀνορθωμένους, χωλοὺς ἄρτια βαδίζοντας, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς πάσης πάντας ἀσθενείας ἀπηλλαγμένους. ἐν οἷς καὶ τις ἀνὴρ, ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι ὀκτὼ κλινῆρης ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κείμενος, μετὰ κραυγῆς ἡντιβόλει τοὺς κατὰ τὸ λεωφόρον τρέχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν θαυματουργὸν ἐκείνην πῆραν, τὴν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀδομένην, τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δρόμον εἶχοντο, ἢ

¹ sic cod.

² sic.

ἐκεῖνον ἤκουν· παραθεωρούμενος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον ἤλγει καὶ ἐδυσχέraitεν. ὥς δὲ ἤδη ἀπείρηκε τινὰ πρὸς οἶκτον μὴ ἐπισπόμενος, ἰδοὺ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ εὐεκτοῦντες, ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ σωφρονούντες ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθούσης αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐν τάχει διαβαστάσαντες τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς κλίνης, πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἐπορεύοντο τῆς ὑγείας· καὶ ἅμα τὸ πλησίον γενέσθαι, ἤλλατο τῆς κλίνης εὐθύς, καὶ εἰς τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἐγένετο, οὗς καὶ προλαβὼν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ περιχαρίας δάκρυσι προσπεσὼν, πάντων εἰς αὐτὸν θεωρούντων, ἄρτιος τοῦ ἐδάφους ἠγέρθη καὶ ὑγίης, ἦχον τινὰ φοβερὸν καὶ τρισμὸν τῶν ἄρθρων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐγέρσει ἀποτελεσάντων· καὶ πάντες ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδόντες καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν τοῦτο θέαμα. φήμης δὲ καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου διαδραμούσης, ἣν ἰδεῖν ποταμηδὸν συρρέοντα τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πλήθη, οἱ τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κραββάτοις φέροντες, ἐρρωμένους καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἰδίῳις ποσὶ βαδίζοντας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία διέσωζον. γνωστὸν δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ γενόμενον, λαβὼν πάντα τὸν κλῆρον αὐτοῦ μετὰ θυμιαμάτων καὶ κηρῶν, σταυροῦς ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαβαστάζοντας εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ χωρίον κατέλαβον, ἔνθα τὸ ἱαματοφόρον ὑπῆρχε τοῦ ὁσίου λείψανον, καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνός, τιμῆς ἕνεκεν προσηκούσης, κεκρυμμένως ἐβάδιζον, ἕως ἐλθόντες ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ. καὶ ποιήσαντες εὐχὴν ἐκτενῇ, περιεπτύξατο τὸ λείψανον, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, εἰθ' οὕτως οἱ καθεξῆς. καὶ ὥρας οὐκ ὀλίγας προσκαρτερήσαντες εἶδον θαυμάτων ἄβυσσον προιοῦσαν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, καὶ δάκρυσι βρέχοντες τὰς παρειὰς τὸ “κύριε ἐλέησον” ἔκραζον, καὶ τὸ “δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν παράδοξα θαύματα διὰ τῶν εὐαρεστούντων σοι.” μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλέσας τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λέγει παρακλητικῶς αὐτοῖς “δέομαι ὑμῶν ἀδελφοὶ χαρίσασθαι ἡμῖν τὸν θεῖον τοῦτον, καὶ χρυσοῦ παντὸς τιμιώτερον θησαυρόν, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτον περιστελῶ, εἰς μνήμην ὑμῶν καὶ λύτρον τῶν ἐμοῦ πεπλημμελημένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς χάριτος λήψεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχομαι τοιοῦτον μαργαρίτην πολύτιμον ὧδε κάκεῖσε περιέρχασθαι, ἢ τὸν λύχον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον

3.

The action
of the
bishop.
His pur-
chase of
the relics.

κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας συστέλλειν τῆς χάριτος.” οἱ δὲ μὴδὲ ἄκροις ὥσὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα θελήσαντες παραδέξασθαι, ἔμειναν ἀντιπίπτοντες καὶ μὴ μεθήσειν φάσκοντες, κὰν χρυσοῦ ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα. ὥς δὲ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος τούτοις ἐνεβριμήσατο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἱερέων, “ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα βούλησθε λαβεῖν,” εἰρηκότες, “ἀπέλθετε τῶν ὧδε κεναῖς χερσί,” καταπειθεῖς γεγόνασι καὶ ὑποκλινεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν εἰληφότες νομίσματα μετὰ καὶ τινων ἄλλων εἰδῶν ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρη, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὁσίου στήρησιν ὀδυρόμενοι, τῇ δὲ ποσότητι τοῦ χρυσοῦ μικρὸν παραμυθούμενοι.

4. ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τούτων, ἰδοὺ τις δαιμονῶν ἔτρεχε βοῇ χρώμενος ἀνυποστάτῳ, καὶ Πέτρον ἀπὸ Σχολαρίων ἀνακαλούμενος, “οὐκ ἄρκετὸν ἐφάνη σοι τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καταμονῆς καὶ τοῦ ὄρου διῶξαι, ἐν ᾧ ὧν ἔσπευδον πλανᾶν τοὺς μοναχοὺς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἔρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧδε παραγέγονας, τῆς μικρᾶς ταύτης βουλόμενος ἐξορίσαι με κατοικίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως; ἄρτι σου τὸ σῶμα πυρίκαυστον ποιῶ πάντων ὀρώντων, εἰ μὴ ἐάσης με.” ἦν δὲ κατέχων ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαμπάδας πυρὸς ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ ὡς μόνον ὥρμησε ταύτας ἐν τῷ λειψάνῳ θῆναι, γέγονέ τις ψόφος καὶ ἦχος βίαιος, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς ἀστραπὴ πυρός, ἀπέπτυ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ δαίμων, θρηνιτικῶς τὸν ἀέρα περιερχόμενος.

5. δοξασάντων δὲ πάντων κὰν τούτῳ τὸν φιλάνθρωπον κύριον λαβὼν τὸ λείψανον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ κλήρῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀνήγαγον, κάκεισε διαφόρων ἀσθeneiῶν διάφοροι τῶν συρρεόντων ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐν πολυτίμῳ λάρνακι μύροις τοῦτον κατατίθεσαν¹ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκόμισαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶ νυχθημέροις δοξολογίας ποιήσαντες, οὕτως ἕκαστος φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ σύμμικτοι εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἴεσαν, μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἰάσεις ἐκεῖσε ἐπιτελοῦνται πολλαί, εἰς δόξαν τῆς παναγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν. τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας πάντα γράψωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πατέρων τὸν ἀκηλίδωτον βίον, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἄσαρκον καὶ ἀσώματον, ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐντυπώσαντες, κλαύσωμεν καὶ θρηνήσωμεν τὸ χαῖνον ἡμῶν εἰδότες, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν μαλακὸν καὶ ἀναδυόμενον· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἅπαξ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν

¹ sic.

4.
The complaint of the devils and the attempt to burn the relics.

5.
The deposition of the relics in the church.

6.
Concluding exhortation.

κόσμῳ ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὐκέτι περὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ματαιοπονίας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπησχόλουν, ἀλλ' ὁσημέρα πυρὶ προσλαμβάνοντες, καὶ ταῖς ἀναβάσεσιν ὥσπερ θεούμενοι τὰ κάλλη τῶν ὀρωμένων, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν εὐθηνίαν ὡς σκιὰν παρέτρεχον, καὶ τὰς μερίμνας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ τᾶλλα, οἷς οἱ φιλοκτήμενες καὶ φιλόϋλοι ἤδονται, ὡς ἐμπόδιον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀεστρέφοντο μονολόγιστον κεκτημένοι διαγωγὴν καὶ μονότροπον, τὴν δυσεύρετον καὶ σπανίους ἄρτι γινωσκομένην· οὐ γὰρ τρυφῆς ἐπεμελῶντο, οὐ χιτῶσιν ἀπαλοῖς ἐπετέρποντο, ἢ σωματικὴν ἐζήτουν ἀνάπαυσιν· οὐδὲ κτήσεις ἐπόθουν καὶ ἐπικτήσεις καὶ πλατυσμούς, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρου ἔτρεχον τοῦ νοητοῦ, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐρανίους ἐδέχοντο τρυφάς, καὶ παρακλήσεις, ὧν κόρος τοῖς γευσάμενοις οὐκ ἔστι· ὅθεν καὶ τοιαύτας εἰλήφασι χάριτας, καὶ κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὰ νικητήρια ἔχουσιν. ἴδε γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ θεαρέστου τούτου βίου ἀκροατὴς οἷον φωστῆρα τηλαυγῇ καὶ παγκόσμιον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτο θεῖον ὄρος ἐξήνεγκεν, ὃς ἀγρυπνία, καὶ πόνος, καὶ γυμνότητι, καὶ ἀσιτία, διηνεκεῖ τε πένθη καὶ συντριβῇ καρδίας, ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑαυτὸν ἐκδούς, ἀνώτερος γέγονε καὶ λογισμῶν, καὶ παθῶν, καὶ δαιμόνων, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ πέφθακε τὸ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἔσχατον, τὴν ἄκραν λέγω πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν πρώτην καὶ μόνην μακαριότητα· ἥς ἀξιωθῆίμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ τὴν τούτου πολιτείαν μιμούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν προτερήμασιν ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ γερῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν παρὰ τῆς ἀενάου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ προσκύνησις, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ καὶ παναγάθῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

CHAPTER II

EUTHYMIUS OF THESSALONICA

THE life of Euthymius really brings the monks of Mount Athos into the full light of history. It is a document of primary importance, and there is no reason to doubt that it was really written, as it claims to be, by Basil, a disciple of Euthymius, who afterwards became Archbishop of Thessalonica early in the tenth century. Various writers on Mount Athos have referred to its importance and have published extracts from it, generally in a modern Greek paraphrase; but any reference to these has been rendered unnecessary by the excellent edition of Père Louis Petit,¹ which gives a text based on Cod. Athous Laur. Δ 79 (a MS. of the twelfth century of which, in ignorance of the projected edition of P. Louis, I took a copy in 1903 intending to publish it in the present book), with a partial collation of Cod. Athous Vatoped. 546 (which was written in 1422, but in the opinion of Père Louis Petit often has a better text than the earlier MS.), and with a complete collation of Cod. Athous Pantel. 207, a MS. of the nineteenth century.

¹ *Vie et office de Saint-Euthyme le jeune*, texte grec publié par le R. P. Louis Petit, A.A. Paris, A. Picard et fils, 1904, part of the *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale*, edited by Léon Clugnet.

Euthymius was born in 823 at Opso (or Hopso), an unknown town near Ancyra, and was given by his parents the name of Nicetas. When he was seven years old (i.e. in 830-1) his father died, leaving his wife to bring up Nicetas and his two sisters, Maria and Epiphania. When he was sixteen years old he married a certain Euphrosyne, and became the father of a daughter, Anastaso. Two years later he felt increasingly drawn to the monastic life, and on Sept. 15, 841, deserted his family in that curious manner which forms the first stage in so many lives which have afterwards been canonized.¹ From this time his life may be divided into six periods, (1) life on Mount Olympus, (2) life on Mount Athos as a hermit, (3) on Mount Athos as the head of a lura, (4) at Brastamou as the head of a lura, (5) at Peristerai as the head of a monastery, and finally (6) as a hermit on Mount Athos and on the Island Hiera.

(1) *Life on Mount Olympus.*² After leaving his family he went to the Mysian Olympus, and approached the famous Johannicius,³ with whom he stayed for a time, and began to earn a reputation for virtue, but shortly afterwards moved on to a neighbouring monastery, presided over by a monk called Johannes, who may perhaps be identified with the Abbot of Antidius, frequently mentioned in the life of Johannicius. Here he took the monastic vows, receiving the name of Euthymius,

¹ Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-27.

³ See the *Acta Sanctorum* for November, tom. 2, pp. 311-435. Johannicius died in 846.

and soon afterwards was sent on to the convent of Pissadinon, presided over by a monk named Nicolaus.¹

This seems to have been a regular monastery, not merely a *laura*, but it cannot be identified with any foundation mentioned in the life of Johannicius. He was successively muleteer, cook, servant to the steward, and waggoner. In these occupations he behaved exemplarily, and employed his leisure in learning to read, and in religious exercises. But after fifteen years of this life the peace of the church was disturbed by the schism which arose in 858 owing to the rival claims of Ignatius and Photius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the monastery of Pissadinon was broken up, as the Abbot Nicolaus thought that Ignatius had been improperly driven out, and refused communion with Photius. Apparently this rendered the Abbot's position untenable, and he and the leading monks left the monastery. None of those who remained felt able to take the leadership, and Euthymius was attracted to the life of a hermit. He had heard of Mount Athos as a suitable place for solitary life, and decided to go there. But he had not yet received the 'great Schema',² and in

¹ In Cod. Vat. 672, f. 97-98^v there are encomiums by Psellus on a monk named Nicolaus on Mount Olympus: but he is described as the *καθηγούμενον τῆς ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ μονῆς τῆς ὡραίας πηγῆς*.

² It must be remembered that among the Basilican monks there are two grades, the *μικρὸν σχῆμα*, which is given with a tonsure, and the *μέγα* or *ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα*. At present the latter is frequently not taken until extreme old age, or even just before death. Both these grades are quite independent of

the absence of Nicolaus, and owing to the death of Johannes who had given him the tonsure, he did not at first know how to obtain it. Ultimately, however, he turned to a hermit named Theodore, who is perhaps also mentioned in the life of Johannicius,¹ and after eight days' preparation obtained ordination. He then started for Mount Athos with a companion named Theosterictus. On his way he passed through Nicomedia (not at first sight the most direct route to Mount Athos, but it was no doubt then, as it certainly is now, easier to go round by Constantinople), and then, for the first time since his departure from Opso, thought of his deserted family, and sent a message to them telling them of his action, and recommending them to follow his example.

The result of his message was that his mother, sisters, and wife embraced a monastic life, leaving only his daughter Anastaso, who remained 'in the world' in order to prevent the family from dying out, and became the mother of a son and three daughters.

(2) *Life on Mount Athos as a hermit.*² Euthymius and Theosterictus reached Mount Athos in safety, but the latter soon returned to Olympus, and Euthymius joined an Armenian named Joseph, whom he found already established as a hermit. With Joseph he began the usual ascetic life, and for

sacerdotal rank: Euthymius, for instance, was not yet a deacon, nor did he become one for many years.

¹ Vita Johannicii, *op. cit.*, pp. 366 ff.

² Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32.

forty days they tried to live as cattle, moving about on their hands and knees and eating the grass.¹

At the end of the forty days Euthymius proposed that they should live in a cave for three years. To this Joseph consented, but the opposition of the lower creation was so pronounced that at the end of a year he came out, leaving Euthymius to finish the three years alone. The result was that the fame of Euthymius's vow spread, and when he emerged from the cave a number of monks gathered round him, and he became the head of a *laura*.

(3) *The laura of Euthymius on Mount Athos.*² There are no chronological data in the life of Euthymius to fix accurately the beginning of this period of his life, but the *laura* must have been founded about four years after Euthymius left Olympus; this cannot have been earlier than 862, and probably was at least one year later. It seems to have been the usual type of a loosely knit together body of monks, gathered round a leader, and assembling for religious services, but not otherwise living in common, and possessing no monastic buildings.

On two occasions Euthymius left the *laura*. The first time was in consequence of a message brought

¹ The reason given for this strange form of asceticism is a perverted interpretation of Ps. xlix. (LXX, xlviii.) 12, 20. 'Man being in honour hath no understanding: he is compared to the cattle that have no intelligence, and is made like unto them'; and the idea is that, by really living like cattle, they might perhaps recover the lost gift of the likeness to God (ἡ κατ' εἰκόνα χάρις), and so, by being 'made like unto' the cattle and by having 'no understanding', they might come to 'be in honour'.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-7.

to him by Theosterictus from Theodore, the hermit who had given Euthymius the 'great Schema', asking him to come and bring him to Mount Athos. Euthymius at once journeyed to Olympus, where he found that Theodore was exceedingly ill. However, he managed to bring him to Athos, and, when the life of the laura proved too severe, made him a cell at Macrosina, a locality which is now unknown, but is described by Basil, the writer of the Life, as 'near the villages'. It was probably therefore not far from the north end of the mountain. Shortly before his death Theodore moved to Thessalonica, and was buried there in the church of St. Sozon, and this induced Euthymius to leave his laura for the second time in order to visit the tomb. Here his fame had preceded him, and he became the centre of a crowd of admirers who tried to kiss him, expecting to derive from his touch some miraculous benefit. In order to avoid this annoyance he went a short distance out of the city, and took up his position on a pillar (in the way made famous by Simeon Stylites), on which he was 'raised visibly nearer to God' and he could preach his lessons separated by a safe distance from his admirers. His preaching met with success, but the life did not please him; so he returned to Athos after commending the care of Theodore's tomb to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who was also named Theodore. This Archbishop appears as a signatory of the Council of Constantinople in 869, and was also present at the installation of Theopiste (daughter of St. Theodora) as Abbess in

the previous year, but there is no evidence as to the year in which he became Archbishop; it would seem from the data in the life of Euthymius that his visit to Thessalonica must have taken place not earlier than 863, and more probably as late as 865; it is therefore probable that Theodore¹ became Archbishop of Thessalonica at least as early as 865 and perhaps earlier. Before leaving Thessalonica Euthymius was ordained deacon, and, it would seem, priest. M. Petit in his edition of the Life thinks that the ordination was in the first place only to the diaconate, and that priest's orders were given later. It is, however, surely more probable that they were given simultaneously, for the reason alleged is the difficulty of Communion in a desert place in the absence of a priest.

On his return to Mount Athos Euthymius stayed for 'some years' in his laura, but after a time the love of solitude returned, and taking with him two companions, Symeon and Johannes Kolobos, he went to the island of Neon (now St. Eustratius), which can be seen in the distance from Mount Athos. Here, however, he can scarcely be said to have settled, for soon after reaching the island the monks were captured by Arabs. Either miraculous intervention or the superstitions² of the Arabs

¹ M. Louis Petit has a note on Theodore in the *Échos de l'Orient* (iv, 1901, pp. 2, 18 f.).

² It must be remembered that Mohammedans are forbidden by their law to interfere with monks or priests. This fact, which is often forgotten by those who think of Islam as a persecuting religion, explains why monks were usually released, and why

helped them : for the Arab ship made slow progress, and thinking that this was due to the malign influence of the monks, the Arabs took them and disembarked them on the island. The monks followed up their good fortune by demanding the return of their baggage ('implements, hair shirts and books' says the writer), and in the end attained their object, as the baggage ship was also driven back to the island. This incident is an admirable example of the way in which the simplest incident assumed a miraculous character to monastic eyes. For there is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the narrative ; there is nothing miraculous¹ in a shift of wind or a delaying current anywhere in the neighbourhood of Athos ; and in releasing the monks and restoring their property the Arabs were only obeying the precepts of Islam, which they had been tempted to forget. But what is here obvious is not always so clear, and there is probably much history in the *Acta Sanctorum* irrecoverably concealed by the miraculous explanations which have been added to it.

After their escape from the Arabs Euthymius and his friends had no desire to remain on the island, and returned to Mount Athos. But even here safety was no longer attainable : a raid was made on the mountain, and some monks were captured :

the monasteries in Macedonia were not, as a rule, destroyed, unless they were too obviously used as fortresses.

¹ Experience has almost made me inclined to regard as miraculous a voyage round Mount Athos in a sailing boat which is *not* prolonged by these variations.

Euthymius felt that it was unwise to remain, and the laura was disbanded. The monks who decided to leave Athos separated into three groups. One, headed by Symeon, went to Greece; another followed Johannes Kolobos to Siderocausia (probably not far from Athos); and the third went with Euthymius himself to Brastamou, the modern Brasta in Chalcidice near Polygorus. Of the first group nothing more is known; the second had a short but important history which is discussed in the next chapter; and of the third we know only what is told us in the Life of Euthymius. The date of these events cannot be fixed: it must lie somewhere between 863, the earliest possible date for Euthymius' visit to Thessalonica, and 871, the date of the foundation of St. Andreas at Peristerai (see p. 50). As he was 'some years' on Mount Athos after the visit to Thessalonica, 866 seems the earliest possible date for the foundation of the laura at Brastamou, and 867 or even 868 is perhaps more probable.

(4) *The laura of Euthymius at Brastamou.*¹ Euthymius' new foundation seems to have approached almost more nearly to the nature of a convent than to that of a laura. He built cells for the monks, and frequently visited them, but personally he preferred to live in a ravine some distance away. His fame spread and attracted many visitors. Among them was a certain Onuphrius, who is mentioned as a distinguished ascetic. Of course this is not the Egyptian who is mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*,

¹ *Op. cit.*, 37-8.

and nothing more is known of St. Onuphrius of Athos, but that such a person really existed need not be doubted, for in the second 'typicon' of the mountain one of the signatories is that of the Abbot of Onuphrius, and Peter the Athonite is very often accompanied in the pictures on Mount Athos by Onuphrius. One may suspect that originally it was Onuphrius, the Athonite, not the Egyptian, who was thus celebrated, but the matter is complicated by the fact that the feasts of Peter the Athonite and Onuphrius of Egypt fall on the same day—June 12.¹

Euthymius seems at this time to have led rather a restless life wandering about the ravines of Athos, and at intervals visiting his laura at Brastamou, among the monks of which was Joseph his old Armenian friend, whose relics, preserved in the cave in which he had died, the writer of the Life says that he had seen. This would seem to imply that Basil, the writer of the Life, was once a monk at Brastamou.

During one of Euthymius' periods of retirement it was revealed to him that he should leave his laura and found a monastery on the site of an ancient church of St. Andrew at Peristerai near Thessalonica; therefore taking with him his friends Ignatius and Ephraim from Brastamou he departed for Thessalonica.

(5) *Euthymius' monastery at Peristerai.*² He had no difficulty in finding Peristerai, a village about four hours to the east of Thessalonica, and recognized a fountain as identifying it with the place which he had seen in his vision, and after some digging

¹ Did they always do so?

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 38–48.

at a spot which he indicated the remains of an old church were discovered. Aided by the money and labour of the pious, but hindered by demons who contrived frequent accidents, he built a monastery on the spot,¹ and succeeded in finishing it in 871. The new foundation was liberally endowed and furnished by the neighbouring laity, and soon attracted many monks. Among them was Basilus,² the writer of the Life, who, however, received the tonsure from Euthymius not in the monastery, but in the church of St. Demetrius at Servilia (now Ormulia), on the peninsula Longos, where there seems to have been a kind of hermitage used by the monks.

For fourteen years Euthymius ruled the monastery, and no doubt became a person of considerable importance, but the Life gives us no historical information, though it supplies interesting specimens of his progress, sermons, wonderful cures, and prophetic insight—foretelling, for instance, to Basilus that he would become a bishop. But towards the close of this time, either in 882 or 883, he seems to have taken some part in a settlement between the Erissiotēs, the monastery of his old friend Johannes Kolobos, and the hermits of Mount Athos, for his name appears among the signatures to the agreement which was ultimately reached. A full account³ of this agreement and the controversy to which it put an end will be given in the next chapter.

¹ M. Petit mentions that Prof. Kinch, of Copenhagen, has found the ruins of this monastery: see *Festskrift til J. L. Ussing i anledning hans 80 aarige fødselsdag*, Copenhagen, 1900, and *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1902, pp. 663 f.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 46–7.

³ See pp. 68–70.

About 883 Euthymius again began to be restless, and summoned to Peristerai his daughter's family (the date is fixed by the statement that it was forty-two years after he had left his family and wife), and made his grandson, Methodius, Abbot of Peristerai, and his granddaughter, Euphemia, abbess of a convent which he built on ground bought for the purpose. The relics and altars of these foundations were consecrated by Methodius, Archbishop of Thessalonica. The date of this archbishop's consecration is not known, but it must have been after 882, when Gregory (see p. 82) was in office. He seems to have died in 889.

(6) *Euthymius' last days as a hermit.*¹ After thus settling his affairs Euthymius returned to his old ascetic life. First he went back to the pillar on which he lived during his first visit to Thessalonica, then he retreated to Mount Athos, but as he was constantly pursued by disciples he finally went on May 7 to the little island of Hiera, probably the modern Ginra, not far from Volo. He was accompanied by only a single monk, Georgius, and died on the island on October 15. His relics were then brought to Thessalonica by the monks Paulus and Blasius, who went to Hiera for the purpose on January 13. The year of his death is difficult to fix. The writer says that it was in the second indiction that he went to Hiera. This ought to be either 884 or 898. The former seems rather early, for it was only in 883 that he summoned his family, but the latter seems equally too late, though

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.

M. Louis Petit accepts it, and so allows fourteen years for his last period of life as a hermit. Personally, I should prefer the early date, and suppose that the stay on the pillar and on Mount Athos only lasted a few weeks; for the impression given by the Life is that Euthymius did not live long after leaving Peristerai. It is, however, of course possible that the 'second indiction' is wrong. Perhaps it was originally 'eighth indiction', as a confusion between β and η is not uncommon.

The importance of the information concerning Mount Athos contained in this story needs no emphasis. The most interesting points may be summed up as follows: (1) as early as 859 when Euthymius went first to Athos there were already hermits there—for instance, his Armenian friend, Joseph—and, as we know from other sources, Peter the Athonite was also living at the time; but there is no reference to a convent or even to a lura of monks. (2) A few years later Euthymius himself was the centre of a definite lura. (3) Although Euthymius, Johannes Kolobos, and Symeon left the lura with some of the monks it is more probable than not that others remained, and, as the next chapter will show, there was a considerable number of monks or hermits on the mountain between 870 and 880. (4) There is no reference to a definite monastery as distinct from a lura, and no mention of Clementos—the monastery which the Life of Peter the Athonite states to have been in existence *c.* 890.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

THE MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREAS AT PERISTERAI

THE foundation of Euthymius at Peristerai had not a very long or distinguished history. The last that we read of it in the life of Euthymius is that the saint, on leaving the monastery, appointed his grandson Methodius to be abbot. Seeing that this Methodius must have been under thirty, and was probably not older than twenty-five, the wisdom of this act is open to question, but whether it led directly to bad results is unknown. What, however, is certain is that during the next eighty years the monastery fell into bad hands and became disreputable. This is proved by the *Typicon* of Athanasius the Athonite, in which it is stated that the monks had lived for a long time in an absolute disregard of monastic propriety. At this point the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas intervened; he was the patron of Athanasius and had promised to endow his new foundation, the monastery now known as 'the Laura'. He therefore seized the opportunity of suppressing a scandal and helping a friend by a single stroke of statesmanship, and transferred the control of St. Andreas to Athanasius.

The effect of this transference is only known to us from one source—Athanasius' *Typicon*. He was entirely satisfied with the results achieved, though we may justifiably doubt whether the monks of Andreas would have endorsed his judgement. Exactly what he did is unknown, but at any rate in 970, when the *Typicon* was written, a certain Stephanus was Abbot of St. Andreas, and enjoyed the complete confidence of Athanasius. We may surmise that he had been sent from the Laura to carry out a plan of

reform. It would seem, however, that the reformation was somewhat superficial, for Athanasius was not prepared to recommend the appointment of any further abbot after the death of Stephanus. He directed that Stephanus should not be disturbed in his lifetime, nor be called upon for his accounts, but that after his death the management of the convent should devolve directly upon the abbot of the Laura.

It is easy to see that this arrangement boded ill for the future independence of St. Andreas, and that the quiet and peace which Athanasius promised to the monks was merely that which the tiger offers to the lamb.

There remained, however, one source of protection—an appeal to the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, to whom Euthymius had especially commended his foundation. We have no evidence as to the date when this appeal was made, but a Chrysobull of Constantine IX, alluded to by Gerasimos Smyrnakes, seems to mark the end of a struggle between the Lauriotes on the one hand, and the Peristeriotes supported by the Metropolitan of Thessalonica on the other, in which the emperor intervened. According to this the emperor removed the monastery of St. Andreas from the protection of the bishop, and handed it over absolutely to the Laura.

This completed the work of Nicephorus and the ruin of the convent, which became merely a source of income for the Laura.

Its further history is unknown: at present the Laura has no property in the district of Peristerai, so that it either lost it in one of the many periods of unrest in Macedonia, or sold it to some one else.

I append the extract from the *Typicon* of Athanasius and the statement of Gerasimos Smyrnakes, on which this reconstruction of the history of the monastery is based.

A. EXTRACT FROM 'THE TYPICON OF ATHANASIOS' CONCERNING THE MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREAS IN PERISTERAI. [P. MEYER, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, pp. 119-21.]

Εἰδέναι οὖν χρή, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν Περιστερῶν ἤτοι τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου μονῆς, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν τελούσης κατὰ τὴν τῶν δύο εὐσεβῶν χρυσοβουλλίων περιοχὴν τε καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ τε αἰοιδίμου καὶ τρισμάκαρος βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου καὶ τοῦ ἔτι περιόντος εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ νυνὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος διατιθεμένοις ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔδοξε διατάξασθαι· βουλόμεθα τοίνυν Στέφανον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον μοναχὸν καὶ καθηγούμενον, καθὼς καὶ προνοεῖται καὶ ἄρχει τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, μένειν ἀδιάσειστον καὶ ἀλογαρίαστον, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐπαδείας τινὰ τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς μετακινεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ παραλύειν τῆς ἐπιστασίας τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐδούλευσεν ἡμῖν ὅλη τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐγγχωροῦν μεγάλως ἀνέπαυσε καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμε καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ὑποταγὴν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ βελτιώσεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ μονῇ πεποιηκέναι φαίνεται· ὁ δέ γε πειρώμενος, μετὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς μετακινῆσαι αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλως πὼς καθ' οἰονδήποτε τρόπον θλίψιν τὴν οἰανοῦν αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλότριος ἔστω τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, ἐχέτω δὲ τὴν κατάραν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐντέλλομαι καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτελουμέναις ἀδιαλείπτως θεαῖς λειτουργίαις παρὰ τῶν τῆς Λαύρας πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ζῶντας καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτησίως μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βίου μετάστασιν τοῦ εἰρημένου μοναχοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καθηγουμένου, ἐβουλόμεθα καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προεστῶτος προβληθῆναι καὶ αὐθις ἡγούμενον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντῃ κατημέληται τὰ τῆς μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρὰ τῶν προηγησαμένων

ἐκ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἀδιαφορία πολλῇ καὶ ἀμελία κατέχονται σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς μοναχοί, συνείδομεν οἰκονομία χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ πρὸς ἓνα βλέπειν καὶ ὑφ' ἓνα τελεῖν, ἡγουν τὸν προεστῶτα τῆς Λαύρας, πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ δηλουμένῃ μονῇ, ὥστε τῇ μοναρχίᾳ συνελαθῆναι πρὸς τὸ πνευματικώτερον, ἐν τε ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ ψαλμωδίαις καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἐν τε βρώμασι καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς ἡ δουλεία καὶ ὁ κόπος, ἢ ἡ ὁδοιπορία καὶ ἡ ἡλικία, ἢ ἡ νόσος ἐκάστων καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπαιτεῖ· προβάλλεσθαι δὲ διορίζομεθα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προεστῶτος, ἐκ τῆς Λαύρας, οἰκονόμους τε χρησιμωτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, διασκέψει καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ πολλῇ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑφ' αὐτὸν μοναχῶν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν διοικονομεῖσθαι προσηκόντως τὰ σωματικώτερα, τοῖς δὲ καταρτίζεσθαι καὶ συγκροτεῖσθαι τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν λόγοις τε καὶ τρόποις καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ θεὸν πράξεσι· τούτου γὰρ γεννησομένων, σὺν θεῷ φάναί, πέποιθα πολλὴν παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀναφανῆναι κοινωνικῶς καὶ μοναρχικῶς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὠφέλειαν· μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Λαύρας μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλάκις δηλωθείσης μονῆς ἐκ δυναρχίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μηδὲν διαφερομένων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀγάπης συναγομένων ἔνωσιν καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην τῷ ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ μόνην τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἀφορᾶν, καὶ εἴ τις ἡμῶν τὴν ἐπωφελῆ ταύτην καὶ σωτήριον οἰκονομίαν πειραθῇ καταλῦσαί ποτε, ἀλλότριος ἔστω τῆς ἀγάπης, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

B. EXTRACT FROM GERASIMOS SMYRNAKES, το Ἅγιον Ὅρος, p. 45.

. . . καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου [τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου] παρεχωρεῖτο τῇ Λαύρᾳ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου ὅλως ἀνεξάρτητον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης . . .

CHAPTER III

JOHANNES KOLOBOS, HIS MONASTERY, AND THE HERMITS OF MOUNT ATHOS

It will be remembered that Johannes Kolobos, the friend of Euthymius, is mentioned in the life of the latter as leading away part of the laura of monks on Mount Athos and settling at Siderocausia. The life of Euthymius tells us no more about him; but he, and a monastery which he founded, appear several times in a series of documents referring to Mount Athos, the interpretation of which affords almost the only clue which we possess to the history of the mountain during the period immediately after the dispersal of the laura of Euthymius.

These documents, which will be found on pp. 76–86, are as follows:—

(a) Part of a Chrysobull of Basil the Macedonian (before A. D. 881). (See Appendix A.)

(b) The report of a Thessalonian official, named Thomas, on a boundary dispute between the Erissiotēs and the Athonites (A. D. 881). (See Appendix B.)

(c) The agreement arrived at in this dispute by the two parties (A. D. 881). (See Appendix C.)

(d) The official decision, ratifying this agreement, by the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (A. D. 882). (See Appendix D.)

(e) A Chrysobull of Leo the Wise (? A. D. 900). (See Appendix E.)

It is unfortunate that we only possess a little fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil, which was probably given to Johannes Kolobos himself, but the greater part of its contents and the events which led up to its promulgation can be reconstructed from the Chrysobull of Leo. The facts appear to be these:—

After the separation of Euthymius and Johannes Kolobos and the partial dispersal of their laura on Mount Athos, the most important events on Mount Athos and the neighbourhood were (1) the foundation of a monastery by Johannes Kolobos near Mount Athos, and (2) the constant disturbance of the Athonite lauras and hermitages by the Erissiotēs.

The proof of the foundation of this monastery, to which I shall refer in future as Kolobou, is established by the direct references in the Chrysobulls of Leo and Romanus. The date of its foundation and its exact position are less easily determined, and must be considered separately.

The date of the foundation of Kolobou. The limits between which this date must be fixed are 866 and 881. The former is the date before which the separation of Johannes from Euthymius cannot be placed, the latter is the date before which the Chrysobull of Basil was given, and it is plain from the Chrysobull of Leo that when this was given the monastery was in existence. It is obvious that neither of the extreme dates is probable. In dis-

cussing the chronology of the life of Euthymius (p. 48) I have shown that 867 or 868 are probable dates for the separation of the two monks, and I think the impression gained by reading the documents referring to the boundary dispute which was closed in 881 (see Appendices B, C, D), and the allusions made in them to the Chrysobull, is that this had been given some time previously.

There is some slight evidence for dating the Chrysobull A. D. 872¹ or 875, and these dates seem to me not improbable.

If then we allow two years for Johannes to establish himself in his new home and for a sufficient number of monks to gather round him, and accept 872-5 as the date of the Chrysobull, we can fix the foundation of Kolobou with fairness between 869 and 873. The history of Johannes thus presents a striking but quite natural parallel to that of Euthymius. Each left Mount Athos with a small following of monks who had belonged to the dispersed laura, and each founded a new monastery within the course of the next few years. One wonders whether Symeon, the leader of the remaining party of monks from Mount Athos, did the same in Greece.

¹ Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *op. cit.*, p. 22, gives this date. Kosmas Vlachos, *op. cit.*, p. 19, gives 885, but this is probably an unacknowledged quotation from Gedeon, *op. cit.*, p. 79, who also gives 885—probably a misprint for 875 derived from MS. Panteleemon, 281, p. 203 (a nineteenth-century document), which gives 875, indiction 2. This cannot be right as it stands, but if we suppose the frequent confusion of minuscule β and η the indiction would correspond to the year.

The position of Kolobou. The two Greek monks Gerasimos Smyrnakes¹ and Kosmas Vlachos² differ completely on this point. The former says that Kolobou was on the Megale Vigla (see map), and the latter that it was to the north of Erissos.³ Neither gives any reasons or discusses the point, but I think that the evidence for both views can be derived from the documents relating to the boundary dispute and from the Chrysobull of Leo.

The evidence for a position on the Megale Vigla is as follows:—The decision of the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (see Appendix D) in describing the boundary line between the Erissiotēs and the Athonites says that it starts at the beginning of the Ammoulian gulf, runs up a ravine as far as the land of the monastery of St. Christina to a group of trees, then crosses over to another ravine, goes over the hill and comes down to Globutzista (the present Chromitza, according to tradition, which I see no reason to doubt), goes over the ravine to a clump of trees and straight on towards the sea as far as an old γύστερνον,⁴ then bends towards the neighbouring neck of the hill on which is the old wall of Kolobou which is within the land of the Athonites.

To follow this boundary in detail is difficult. I have

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

³ Or Hierissos: the latter is no doubt the original form, but I adopt Erissos because it is the name which is now always used—at least in my experience.

⁴ The Proegoumenos Chrysostomos tells me that γύστερνον is a well; the word is strange to me.

never been to the spot; and the map does not give quite sufficient detail, but the general course which it implies is clear enough to show that the 'old' wall of Kolobou was a little beyond Chromitza on the Megale Vigla. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the monastery stood within the wall.

This suggestion finds a superficial support in the Chrysobull of Leo, which confirms the right of the monks of Kolobou to graze cattle in the lands of the Kamena, not far from the Vigla, though, as will be shown, the real meaning of the Chrysobull probably points in another direction.

The evidence for a position near Erissos, between it and Mount Athos, is to be found in the report of Thomas Kaspax in A.D. 881 (see Appendix B). The beginning of this document is unfortunately missing, but it is clear that the boundary between the lands belonging to the monastery and to the peasantry had been fixed, but not that between the peasantry and Mount Athos. That is to say that starting from the land side and going towards the mountain there was first the monastery of Kolobou, secondly the land of the peasantry, and thirdly the land of the monks of Mount Athos: the boundary between the first and the second had been fixed, but not that between the second and third.

This view is confirmed by the statement of Thomas a little later that the Athonites had claimed that their jurisdiction began at the boundary of the Castrum of Erissos, not merely at the boundary of the district, so that their land

began with the boundary of the monastery of Kolobou; for this clearly implies that the boundary of the castrum and of the monastery were identical.

As between the two views as to the locality of Kolobou, it therefore seems to me that the evidence is in favour of Erissos. The exact spot within the limits of Erissos seems impossible to define, but at all events the boundary of the monastery's jurisdiction on the Athos side was the boundary of the castrum.¹ The monastery itself must have been either within or on the other side of the castrum.

But, it may be said, what about the 'old wall of Kolobou' mentioned above as on the Vigla? Is it not possible to argue that the monastery itself was on the Vigla and that the castrum of Erissos was only under its jurisdiction?

The answer to this suggestion is to be found in a consideration of the Chrysobull of Leo (see Appendix E). Here it is stated that the monastery of Kolobou possesses the control of the domain of Erissos, and the pasturage only of the Kamena with their vineyards and orchards. The meaning, in the light of the documents of the boundary dispute, must be that the monastery has two sets of possessions, one in Erissos and the other near the Kamena (close to the Vigla), and that the monastery itself is near the first, not the second. Here we have the true explanation of the 'old wall of Kolobou' in the decision of Katakalon Kaspax; it was the wall, not of the

¹ This is, no doubt, what Kosmas Vlachos means by the northward part of Erissos.

monastery itself, but of the vineyards and orchards which belonged to it.

Subsidiary evidence that this is the true solution of the problem of the locality of Kolobou may be found in the Chrysobull of Romanus, &c. (see Appendix A to the next chapter), and in the agreement between Johannes the Georgian and the Protos of Mount Athos (see Appendix C to the next chapter). In the former document, ratifying the Chrysobull of Leo, the pasturage, &c., of the Kamena is omitted and only the jurisdiction of Erissos mentioned. This may be of importance for the history of the monastery, or merely accidental, but in any case it suggests that the monastery was at Erissos rather than on the Vigla. In the latter document it is clear that the monks of Mount Athos had been in the habit of staying in the monastery of Kolobou when they went to Erissos to buy necessities for themselves. This may possibly only mean that they stayed at Kolobou on the way, and so be compatible with a situation on the Vigla, but the plain sense is naturally that Kolobou was in Erissos.

Siderocausia and Erissos. There is therefore not much danger of error if we say that between the years 869 and 875 Johannes Kolobos founded a monastery in or close to the castrum of Erissos. The question then arises as to the relation of this foundation to that of Siderocausia mentioned in the life of Euthymius. To this no definite answer can be given, as it is impossible to determine whether Siderocausia was a district or a village. The passages

which bear on the point are (1) the reference in the life of Euthymius, cap. 26;¹ (2) the reference in the Chrysobull of Leo,² and I think that neither is quite decisive.

In the Life of Euthymius, we are told that Symeon went to Greece, Johannes to Siderocausia, and Euthymius to Brastamou. The last named is now a village and perhaps was so then, but it is obvious that Euthymius' laura was not founded exactly in a village, even if it were near to one, so that even Brastamou probably means merely the district in which the village of that name was. The analogy of the use of the wide term Greece for the destination of Symeon supports this view, and according to it Siderocausia was probably a district and may have been a name given to that in which Erissos was situated. At the same time the possibility that there was a village of that name is certainly not excluded.

In the Chrysobull we are told that the monks of Kolobou forged a document entitling them to τὰ χωρία ἀπό τε τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Χλωμουτλῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν. It does not seem plain whether Siderocausia and Chlomoutla are villages or districts. I incline to think that the latter may be the hilly district in Chalcidice at pre-

¹ Καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ μακάριος τοῖς Σιδηροκαυσίοις λεγομένοις προσοικίζεται, Συμεὼν δ' ὁ θαυμάσιος τῇ Ἑλλάδι διαπορθμεύεται, Εὐθύμιος δ' ὁ ἱερὸς καὶ ἡμέτερος ἐν τοῖς Βραστάμου λεγομένοις τόποις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μετατίθησιν. *Petit, op. cit.*, p. 37.

² p. 85. Appendix E.

sent called Cholomondas, but this is not certain, and I fear that the exact identification of the localities in this neighbourhood could only be accomplished by somewhat prolonged wanderings from village to village. The local tradition¹ of Mount Athos does not appear to be unanimous. Gerasimos Smyrnakes thinks that Siderocausia is a name which was given to the whole district of Chalcidice because of its mines, Kosmas Vlachos asserts that it was a village near Erissos, and M. Petit (*Vie de S. Euthyme*, p. 80) says that it is 'actuellement Μαδεμοχώρια, près de Hierisso'. None give any reason for their views. The Proegoumenos Chrysostomus of the Laura told me that Siderocausia was a district just beyond (i. e. north of?) Erissos, and that there are in existence documents which prove this, but he never showed me any or quoted them. Still I think that the balance of probability is that he is right.

If this be so the foundation mentioned in the Life of Euthymius may be the same as that in the Chrysobull of Basil. If not, we must assume that Johannes did not stay long at Siderocausia. In any case the history of its foundation parallels that of St. Andreas at Peristerai by Euthymius. The enthusiasm of the Erissiotēs was aroused by Johannes as that of the Peristeriotēs was by Euthy-

¹ If it be a tradition: my impression is that the monks claim the prestige of the 'tradition of the mountain' for the view which they happen to be supporting, for they rarely agree with each other, and still more rarely produce proof.

nius, and land and other presents were showered on him by the pious. The crowning point was a gift from the emperor ratified by a Chrysobull.

The Chrysobull given to Johannes Kolobos. Whether he went to the emperor primarily for the sake of obtaining endowment for his monastery must remain doubtful. At any rate he not merely succeeded in obtaining the gift of the domain of Erissos, but also pleaded the cause of the hermitages and lauras on Mount Athos so skilfully that the emperor's Chrysobull protected the Athonites against all aggression or intrusion, and appointed Johannes and his foundation as the protectors of the mountain. Such is the story given in the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E) which confirmed that of Basil. It appears from this that the hermits and monks of the mountain had been suffering from intrusion, obviously from the laity of Erissos, and this fact seems to dispose of a suggestion, first made by Uspenski,¹ that the gift of the domain of Erissos implies that it was deserted at this time. The general tone of the Chrysobull of Leo also suggests that the primary reason of the Chrysobull being granted, and the possibility of its being asked for, was this aggression on Mount Athos by the Erissiotes.

¹ This suggestion is rendered plausible by Uspenski owing to a mistake by which he dates the boundary dispute about 934. Gerasimos Smyrnakes, not quite grasping this, has introduced two disputes, in which the same names occur, one in 881 and the other in 934.

The importance of the Chrysobull to Johannes is obvious; it at once made him the Hegoumenos of a rich and powerful monastery, and the protector of the whole of Mount Athos. Its value to the hermits and the monks of the luras was no less. Previously their position had been anomalous: each little lura—to some extent each hermitage—implied some degree of clearing the land and cultivating the soil. But this also implied the creation of a more or less desirable property, and the question of the right to exclude others at once became important. No doubt there was a general tradition in favour of respecting hermits, yet this would not always go very far, and in the absence of documents they could scarcely appeal to the law for protection. But the Chrysobull regularized their position, and they could now appeal for protection to the powerful Hegoumenos of Kolobou, who controlled the district from which alone aggression was geographically possible, or, if he proved unfaithful to his trust, they could invoke the imperial help, which was pledged to them by the deed of Basil.

Thus the Chrysobull was of enormous advantage both to the Athonites and to Kolobou. But it was less excellent for the Erissiotēs who seem to have been shut out on both sides. The monks of Kolobou claimed control over the Castrum, and the monks of Mount Athos claimed all the rest. The exact division was perhaps not quite clear, but between the two sets of monks the Erissiotēs were being squeezed out of existence.

It was probably this situation which gave rise to two boundary settlements, of which the second is extant, and contains a sufficient allusion to the first to enable us roughly to reconstruct it.

The first boundary dispute, between Kolobou and the Erissiotēs. The question seems to have arisen very soon as to the exact meaning of the control of the territory of Erissos which had been given by Basil; and when the matter came before Thomas Kaspax¹ of Thessalonica he found that the boundaries of Kolobou had already been settled by other people. This settlement he ratified. It is impossible completely to reconstruct it, but I think that the general sense of the broken lines at the beginning of his report (Appendix B) can only be that when he came to investigate the district he found that it consisted of two parts, the *κλασματική γῆ* and the *ἀποκληρωθεῖσα γῆ*, of which the former lay between the latter and Mount Athos, clearly defined on the west (or land) side but not demarcated towards the mountain.

This division he accepted, and ratified the arrangement by which Kolobou took all the western or landward part while the Erissiotēs took all the rest. No statement is made as to what there was still further inland, or whether it was part of the domain of Erissos.

¹ This family seems to have been numerous and powerful in Thessalonica at this time; we have in the 'Decision' (Appendix D) Katakalon the governor, Thomas the epoptēs, and Stephanos of Bardanopulos, and Zoetes or Zoektes, and there was a monastery Kaspakos on Mount Athos.

The second dispute. The arrangement described above settled the boundary between Kolobou and the Erissiotēs, but Thomas had not thought it necessary to define the boundary of the Erissiotēs and the Athonites, who immediately began to complain, maintaining that according to the Chrysobull of Basil their territory ran up to the boundary of Kolobou.

Judging from the fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil which remains, and from the references to it in that of Leo, the contention was technically not untenable. Basil says that the boundary of monks is to be the *ἐνορία* of Erissos, and Leo says that his father Basil had given Kolobou the right "*κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν*" of Erissos. Apparently Thomas Kaspax had decided that the *ἐνορία* was the Castrum, not the whole district, when he was investigating the claims of Kolobou and the Erissiotēs. The Athonites probably argued that this definition of terms ought to hold good in considering their claims, and that according to it they had the control of the whole district up to the Castrum itself.

The Erissiotēs, on the other hand, claimed that the Athonite border was at the Zygos, the next ridge after the Vigla: we are not told whether they produced any evidence in support of their claim.

Between these two claims Thomas Kaspax had to decide. Reading between the lines of his report one may, I think, see that he recognized the legal

strength of the Athonite position, but felt that it was bad equity to leave the Erissiotēs, as he says, without any property at all.

He therefore sent the two parties away to agree on the general outline of a division of the disputed land, which was afterwards properly drawn up and ratified by the στρατηλάτης Katakalon Kaspax.

The division agreed upon roughly divided the disputed ground; its general course has been already discussed (p. 60), but the mention of the monastery of Christina is noticeable.

It may mean that there was a monastery or a laura there, but perhaps more probably it only means that St. Christina—wherever that may have been—had property at that point.

It is interesting to notice that Euthymius appears to have interested himself in the matter, as his name appears among the signatures to the report of Katakalon Kaspax. What, however, did Johannes Kolobos do? The name of his monastery does not appear among the signatories, but I suspect that the signature to the agreement, Ἰωάννου ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀθωνος, is his, and that he assumed the title in virtue of the protectorate over the mountain given him by Basil.

The settlement and its results. The position of affairs at the end of this settlement in 882 may therefore be defined as follows.

The monastery of Kolobou had obtained control over the Castrum of Erissos, and had a protectorate over the monks of Mount Athos as against all

intruders on the mountain; between the Castrum and the domain of the Athonites was a piece of land which had been allotted for public use to the inhabitants of Erissos and to certain neighbouring monasteries. Kolobou also possessed some vineyards and orchards on the Athos side of the boundary where the monastery of St. Christina also had some property, while on the other hand the Athonites had a spot called the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* reserved for them in the territory of the Erissiotēs. The whole arrangement was ratified by Katakalon Kaspax, the governor of the Thema of Thessalonica, and the Erissiotēs paid the sum requisite to secure their property.¹

The conclusion of the settlement is the last act of Johannes Kolobos² (assuming that he is the Hegoumenos of Athos) of which we know anything. Probably, like Euthymius, he was now an old man and did not live much longer, but the history of his monastery can be traced for a little more than a century longer.

¹ This payment has surely been misunderstood by Uspenski and others who follow him. They appear to think that the Athonites had sold land to the Erissiotēs and then disputed the boundaries of what they had sold. It seems to me that the point of the dispute was that the Erissiotēs had bought ground from the public authorities which the Athonites claimed in virtue of an earlier deed allotting it to them.

² It is worth noticing that MSS. exist of a Life of Paisius written by him (*inc.* ὥσπερ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βίου . . . *desin.* ταῦτα εἰρήσθω). See codd. Paris. 1093¹, 1547², suppl. 759¹. There is also a MS. in the Laura.

It cannot be said that the conduct of the monks of Kolobou reflects credit on their training. They appear first as forgers, and secondly as oppressors of the hermits of Mount Athos and their other neighbours, and lastly as losing their property because of their inhospitality.

The forgery of the Monks of Kolobou. The story of the forgery is related at the beginning of the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E). It appears that the monks were not satisfied with the position in which the boundaries settlement of 882 had left them. They wished for the control, not merely the protectorate, of the mountain, and for further possessions inland.

They found their opportunity at the accession of Leo in 886, and forged a document, apparently a map of some sort, which they took to the emperor together with the Chrysobull of Basil for confirmation. Leo, without looking into the matter closely, granted their request. By this means they secured control of nearly the whole mountain, and villages of (in ?) Siderocausia and Chomoutla (Cholomondas?), the monasteries of Moustaconos, Kardiognostou, and Luka, together with the meeting-place of the hermits (καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων).

It is probably impossible to identify these places, but it is clear that the forgery was planned in the grand style, and gave the monastery of Kolobou the control of the whole of the surrounding districts.

The protest of the Athonites. As soon as the monks had obtained the imperial confirmation they began a career discreditable to themselves, oppressive to

their neighbours, and ultimately disastrous to their foundation.

They abused the hermits of the mountain, took the clearings for the benefit of their flocks, and treated the whole country as their own possession, until at last peasants and hermits made common cause and sent Andreas, ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς καὶ “πρῶτος” ἡσυχαστὴς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους, to intercede for them with the Emperor.

The ‘Protos’. This reference to the πρῶτος is of great importance for the history of the growth of the common organization of the monasteries on Mount Athos, and the question may be raised whether πρῶτος ought to be regarded as a title or as an epithet of ἡσυχαστής. In his invaluable *Haupturkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, p. 29, Dr. Ph. Meyer assumes that the former alternative is correct, and regards this passage as the earliest reference to a Protos of the mountain, though he does not quote the text. I doubt, however, whether he is justified in doing this (grammatically πρῶτος is here so clearly adjectival), especially as there is no evidence that the title was used elsewhere before the tenth century, though later, as Gedeon has shown (ὁ Ἁθως, p. 85), it was used in Thessaly at Meteora and at Latros, and it seems to me probable that in the Chrysobull of Leo πρῶτος is not the technical term which it had become by the third quarter of the tenth century (cf. *Vita Athanasii Athonitae* by Pomjalovski, pp. 20 ff.).

In any case it is noteworthy that the title must

have been quite recent, as it does not appear in the list of the signatures to the boundary settlement a few years previously. There the leader of the monks is called the ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ἀθωνος, and, as I have said, he is perhaps identical with Johannes Kolobos.

It is, I suspect, probable that the origin of the title *πρωτος* may be found in this controversy of the Athonites with the monks of Kolobou. The former wished to appear before the emperor, and were not able to send their usual representative, the Abbot of Kolobou, for the very good reason that he was actually the person of whom they wished to complain. They therefore selected the most prominent hermit, and the adjective by which they (or the emperor) described him was afterwards used as a title. The office, thus originated to meet a special need, was found so convenient that it was perpetuated, and was firmly established by the time of Athanasius.¹

The victory of the Athonites over Kolobou. The mission of Andreas to the emperor proved successful; Nicephorus, the Proto-Spatharios, held an inquiry which revealed the fraud of the monks of Kolobou; the forgery was destroyed, and the emperor gave a new Chrysobull protecting the Athonites, and tying the monks of Kolobou down closely to the original terms of the Bull of Basil. There is a significant lack of direct confirmation

¹ The later history of the office of Protos can be studied in Meyer, *l. c.*

as to the 'Protectorate' over the mountain, from which it might be assumed that the monastery lost their privilege, and nothing is especially said to the possession of the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*.

With this incident the first chapter of the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos was closed. For the history of the mountain its importance is to be found in the fact that it shows that at the beginning of the tenth century there was no definite monastery on the mountain; there were hermits, and, as we know from the life of Euthymius, some of these hermits were associated in *lauras*. Moreover, the necessity of defending their interests from the encroachments of the monks of Kolobou had forced them to take common action under the leadership of the most prominent of their number.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

A. EXTRACT FROM A CHRYSOBULL OF BASIL EARLIER THAN A. D. 881

... Τοὺς τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον ἐλομένους καὶ τὰς καταμονὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθωνος λεγομένῳ ὄρει ποιησαμένους, καὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς σκηνὰς ἐκεῖ πηξαμένους, παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωριαζόντων καὶ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ προσομορούντων ἐπηρεαζομένους, καὶ μὴ συγχωρουμένους καθαρῶς καὶ ἀταράχως τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου λογισμοῦ διεπιτελεῖν, ὃ θεοσυνέργητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία δίκαιον ἡγήσατο διὰ τοῦδε ἡμῶν τοῦ σιγιλλίου τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθορύβους καὶ ἀταράχους διάγειν, εὔχεσθαι τε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν γαληνότητος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν συστήματος, ἐξασφαλιζόμεθα πάντας ἀπὸ τε στρατηγῶν, βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δουλείαν καταπιστευομένου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ χωριάτας καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἐν τῷ μυλῶνι ἀλήθοντος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπηρεάσῃ τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς μοναχοὺς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθὼς ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ ἡ ἐνορία καὶ τὴν ἔσω πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὄρος εἰσέρχεσθαι τινας, μήτε ποιμένας μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτῶν, μήτε βουκόλους μετὰ τῶν βουκολίων αὐτῶν. . . .

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski (*Востокъ Христианскій*, Αθον, Kiev, 1877, part 3, p. 295), who is quoting from a MS. which is found in the library of Philotheon.

B. THE *πράξις* OF THE *ἐπόπτης*, Θωμᾶς Κάσπαξ, AS TO THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN ERISSOS AND THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS, A. D. 881-2

... ἐπειδὴ ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ . . . ἐστὶ, καὶ συνήνεται τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ ἡ ἀποκληρω-

θείσα γῇ τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ . . . ἡ μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων διεχωρίσθη, καὶ σύνορα ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῆς τε μονῆς καὶ τῶν χωριατῶν ἐγένετο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διαχωρισμὸν κατέλιπον τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ὄρεάν τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἄθωνα, κατεῖχον οἱ χωριάται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἐνέμοντο. οὐ μὴν προέβη πρὸ τούτου διαχωρισμὸς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος, ἵνα ἐκ τούτου ἐδείκνυτο ἕως ποῦ ἔστι ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπικράτεια, κακεῖθεν ἡ κλασματικὴ γῇ, ἡ παρὰ τῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων κατεχομένη. ἀλλ' οὕτως συγκεχωμένη καὶ ἀδιάγνωστος ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ἐκάστου δεσποτεία διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκεῖσε ἐποπτικὴν διάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κλάσματος διάπρασιν. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κάστρου Ἐρισσοῦ οἰκητόρων κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν διέπρασεν [1. διέπρασεν] εἰς αὐτούς, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ συνόρων, αὐτῶν τε τῶν ἐξωνησάντων τὴν τοῦ κλάσματος γῆν καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἄθωνος διὰ τὸ τῆνικαῦτα μηδεμίαν φιλονικίαν παρά τινος κινήθῃναι, οὔτε παρ' ἡμῶν περιεργώτερον ἐξετάσθῃ ἢ ἐπολυπραγμονήθῃ περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν.

Ἀποστείλαντες οὖν μετὰ τούτου οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἄθωνος ἐδεήθησαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγίους, καὶ ἐδέξαντο ὃ τε Στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ Τζουλᾶς, ἵνα διαχωρίσωσι τὰ δίκαια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ Κάστρου, ἀπαιτήσωσι δὲ ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἰκήτορας, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι παρενόχλησίν τινα ἐπάγειν τοῖς μοναχοῖς. καὶ ἀποστείλαντες ἤγαγον τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἁμφω ἡμῶν ἔστησαν μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἄθωνος προεβάλλοντο τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεσποτείαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κλάσματος κώδικιν ἀναγράφεται δημόσια εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἄθωνος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Κυροῦ Βασιλείου πᾶσαν ἄδειαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν (sic) τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου ἐνορίαν οὐ τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάστρου λέγοντες, ἐπειρῶντο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατοχῆς εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ

χρυσοβούλλων βοήθειαν, ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα κλασματικὰ τόπια ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον μηδὲν ἐναπομένειν τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ. Πάλιν δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκήτορες ἐνίσταντο μέχρι τοῦ Ζυγοῦ εἶναι τὴν κλασματικὴν γῆν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου δεσπόζειν αὐτούς, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθωνίτας ἐξουσιάζειν ἀπὸ τὸν Ζυγὸν καὶ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ ἀπλῶς πολλὰ φιλονικήσαντες περὶ τούτου. τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἄμφω στασιαζόμενον τοῦτο ἦν, τοῦ ὀρισθῆναι τόπον ἔνθα ἔμελλον γενέσθαι σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δίκαια.

Τελευταῖον οὖν οἰκεία προθέσει ἡρέσθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀφιλόνεικον (τὸ πλεόν δὲ διὰ τὸ συγκεχωμένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἀδιάγνωστον), καὶ διωρίσαντο τόπον ἔνθα ἔμελλον γενέσθαι τὰ σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα αὐτούς. τοῦ δὲ Στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τζουλᾶ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, κρατησάντων μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπιτοπίως καὶ διαχωρίσαι αὐτούς, καθὼς καὶ ἡρέσθησαν ἐπιδουναί τε ἀμφοτέροις καὶ λιβέλλους τῆς τοιαύτης ἡμῶν πράξεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαδικαζομένων εἰς τοῦτο, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἀπέρατον αὐτῶν γινώσκων οὐ κατένευσα ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀπὸ φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελθεῖν . . . ἀλλ' εἶπον, εἰς ὃπερ ἡρέσθητε, ἐξασφαλίσασθε ἀμφότεροι πρὸς με, ἵνα ἀμεταμελήτως καταδέξησθε τοῦτο.

Καὶ ἐξέρχοντο (sic) καὶ ἐξησφαλίσαντο ἀμφότεροι ἐνόρκως, τοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα διαχωρίζειν ἀμφοτέρους σύνορά. ἐξασφαλισμένων δὲ αὐτῶν δεδώκασιν ὃ τε Στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ Τζουλᾶς καὶ ὑπόμνημα τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἐμφαίνον τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀρέσκειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν ἀναντίρρητον ἐνέργειαν. Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν ἀσφαλείας διὰ τε τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὑπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βεβαιωθείσης, ἐξῆλθον ἐπιτοπίως καὶ διεχώρισαν (1. διεχώρισα ?) κατὰ τὴν ἔγγραφον αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν εἰ ὃν ἡρέσθησαν τόπον. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς διακατοχῆς τοῦ τόπου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μέχρι τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων, πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ οὖσαν γῆν, ὡς κλασματικὴν, διέπρασα τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τοῦ Κάστρου, καὶ ἡρέσθησαν καὶ παρέλαβον αὐτήν, καὶ ἀνελάβοντο λίβελον παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῇ ἰσότητι, ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα παρεδόθη

τοῖς μοναχοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα καὶ περιορισμὸς εἰς οἰκίαν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν· καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν ἀμφίβολον οἱ οἰκήτορες τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ ἕως τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων, καθὼς καὶ ὁ λίβελος αὐτῶν περιέχει, ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα.

Πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ Κάστρου καὶ ἔτι ἐλογομάχητο, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τυχὸν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν εἰς καιρὸν ἐθνικῆς ἐφόδου τῇ προφάσει τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ περισσώζεσθαι εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄρος, καὶ περὶ τούτου ἵνα οἰκονομηθῇ, μανδρεῖα δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν μήτε μελισσουργεῖα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀδείας οὔσης ἄνευ εἰδήσεως τῶν μοναχῶν εἰσάγειν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, μεγάλως γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο οἱ μοναχοὶ παρενοχλοῦντο. ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα καὶ ὀλιγοσπὴ καὶ ἀχρεῖα γῆ ὕστερον ἀπεκληρώθη τοῖς μοναχοῖς. καὶ γὰρ οἱ οἰκητόρες τοῦ Κάστρου ἔχουσι μὲν καὶ ἦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξωνήσαντο γῆν, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτως ἐκ προστάξεως βασιλικῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου μου αὐθέντου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ὥσπερ χιλίων μοδίων, καὶ οὐ δύνανται λέγειν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀντάρκειαν αὐτῶν.

Ἡ δὲ λεγομένη “καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων” ἐν ἐτέρῳ μέρει ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ ὑπὸ [*sic*, l. ἀπὸ ?] τὴν γῆν τοῦ κλάσματος τοῦ Καμένου, ἀπεδόθη δὲ διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοῖς μοναχοῖς, καὶ ὠρίσθη παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι ἡμῶν ἀντεγράφη, ἵνα οὕτω κατέχηται παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν καθὼς καὶ προκατεῖχετο.

Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ τῷ δούλῳ σου δίκαια διοικῆσαι ἀνεφάνη. ὁ δὲ ἅγιός μου αὐθέντης τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπειπάμενος, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὁδηγήσαιο.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 ff. The writer says that his text is derived from a MS. in the library of the monastery of Coutlounousi on Mount Athos which bears the title : Γράμματα ἀρχαῖα σωζομένων τῶν πρωτοτύπων ἐν τῷ Πρωτάτῳ, ἀντιγραφέντα δι' αἰτήσεως τοῦ πανοσιολογιωτάτου ἀρχιμανδρίτου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Κουτλονμούση κυρίου Γρηγορίου. With reference to

the *πρᾶξις* of Θωμᾶς it says: ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου διεφθαρμένη.

Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *op. cit.*, p. 23 f., quotes this document from ἐξασφαλισαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν to the end. I have not noted his variations which do not affect the sense, because it seems less likely that they are derived from the original document at Caryes than that they are merely emendations of the text given by Uspenski.

C. THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MONKS OF ATHOS
AND THE ERISSIOTES AS TO THE BOUNDARY
BETWEEN THEIR DOMAINS

Σίγνον Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ὁρθογο-
μάτου.

Σίγνον Μεθοδίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου μονῆς τῆς ἁγίας
Χριστίνης.

Σίγνον Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου.

Σίγνον μοναχῶν ἀπὸ Κεντάρων.

Σίγνον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Χαλοῦμα.

Σίγνον Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γοράζδου.

Σίγνον . . . πάντων.

Σίγνον Βασιλείου.

Σίγνον πάντων μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος.

Σίγνον Ἰωάννου, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀθωνος.

Σίγνον Κυνηγοῦ τοῦ Νεπροβάδη.

Σίγνον Θεοδώρου.

Σίγνον Ἀρκαδίου μοναχοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.

Σίγνον πάντων τοῦ Κάστρου.

[In the original each of these signatures is written round a cross.]

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Ἡμεῖς οἱ προγεγραμμένοι καὶ τοὺς τιμίους καὶ ζωποιοὺς σταυροὺς ἰδιοχείρως πῆξαντες τὴν παροῦσαν ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τελείαν διάλυσιν ποιούμεν. εἰς ὑμᾶς Θωμᾶ βασπαθάρη

ἀσηκρίτη ἐπόπτη Θεσσαλονίκης. ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἡγούμενοι μετὰ τῶν χωριατῶν ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς κοινότητος τῆς χώρας, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται μοναχοὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος τοῦ ὄρους.

Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἐπώλησαν εἰς τοὺς χωριάτας τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν, οὐ διεχώρισαν δὲ τὸ ἕως ποῦ ὀφείλουσι δεσπόζειν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες καὶ ἐκείθεν οἱ Ἀθωνῖται, διὰ τοῦτο εἰσῆλθομεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πανευφύμου πρωτεπόπτου Κατακάλων, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Θωμᾶ βασπαθαρίου τοῦ Τζουλά, καὶ Ζωήκτου [l. Ζωήτου? cf. the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων] βασπαθαρίου κριτοῦ, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐπόπτου, ἔγκλησιν ἐποιησάμεθα ἐπιζητοῦντες χωρισθῆναι τὰ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὅρια ἀπὸ τῆς διαπραθείσης γῆς.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τὴν ἡμετέραν δεσποτείαν ἕως τοῦ Ζυγοῦ, ἐκείθεν δὲ τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀντελέγομεν πάλιν ὅτι κατὰ πολὺ μέρος ἀνῆκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξωνηθείσης γῆς.

Περὶ τούτων πολλὰ φιλονικήσαντες συνείδομεν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν γενέσθαι οὕτως,—ἵνα ἀπὸ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν χωραφίων τοῦ Κυροῦ Μεθοδίου¹ πρὸς τὸν Ζυγὸν κοποῦν τὰ σύνορα ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ζυγὸν πάντα χωράφιά τε καὶ χέρσα ἵνα ὧσι τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρισσὸν ἵνα ὧσι πάντα τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν ἀγορασάντων καὶ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ. καὶ μήτε ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρισσὸν ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τὸ σύνολον ἐπιζητεῖν, μήτε ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα ἔχειν τινὰ ἐξουσίαν.

Καὶ εἰς ταῦτα συμφωνήσαντες καὶ ἀρεσθέντες ἐξησφαλισάμεθα πρὸς σε τὸν ἐπόπτην ἵνα κατανυγῆς καὶ ἐξέλθῃς καὶ διαχωρίσῃς ἡμᾶς καθὼς καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν.

Οἷον δὲ μέρος ἀντιλογήσει καὶ οὐκ ἀσμενίσει εἰς ταῦτα

¹ i. e. the monastery of S. Christina. Cf. signatories, and the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων.

τὰ προειρημένα, ἐν πρώτοις ἀρνητὴς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος, καὶ ξένος τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ τῆς μοναχικῆς καταστάσεως, ἔπειτα καὶ καταδικάζεσθαι δικαιωμένου τοῦ ἐμμενοῦς καὶ στέργοντος μέρους εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα σύμφωνα.

Ἐξωθεν δὲ τούτων ἔχειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν καθέδραν τῶν Γερόντων τῶν ἐν τῷ Χρυσοβουλλίῳ μνημονευομένην.

Εἰς ταῦτα πάντα ἀρεσθέντες προετάξαμεν τοὺς τιμίους καὶ ζωοποιοὺς σταυροὺς, γραφέντος τοῦ ὕφους διὰ χειρὸς Δημητρίου κληρικοῦ κουβουκλίων καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου, ἐν μηνὶ Μαίῳ Ἰνδικτιόνης ιε.

Γρηγόριος ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης μάρτυς τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ὑπέγραψα ἰδιοχείρως.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Θωμᾶς βασπαθάρης, νοτάριος τῶν κομερκῶν πάρεμι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις μάρτυς ὑπέγραψα ἰδιοχείρως.

Βασίλειος κανδιδάτος ὁ Σιρινιάρης πάρεμι κτλ.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Μιχαὴλ κληρικὸς πάρεμι κτλ.

Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Γρηγόριος βασπαθάρης ὁ Φουσκὸς πάρεμι κτλ.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

D. DECISION OF Κατακάλων Κάσπαξ AS TO THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTIC LAND OF MOUNT ATHOS AND THE TERRITORY OF HIERISSOS. A.D. 882

Τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν τῶν ἀγίων ἐδεξάμεθα πρόσταγμα ἵνα ἅμα Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἀγίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Ζωήτῳ Κάσπακος (*sic*) ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ θέματος ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπιτοπίως ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τοῦ Ἱερισσοῦ καὶ διαχωρίσωμεν τὴν γῆν τῶν τε μοναχῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνί καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου Ἱερισσοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Θωμᾶ Κάσπακος καὶ ἐπόπτου τοῦ μειροκοβούλου, καὶ ἐνδὸν ἀποσταλείσης πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆς ψήφου Κοσμᾶ τοῦ πανευφήμου μαγίστρου. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πεποιήκαμεν καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τόπον ἅμα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἦτοι τῷ ἀρχιεπι-

σκόπῳ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι Κάσπακι συμπαρόντων ἡμῖν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἐρκούλων, Παρίλου Κάσπακος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν Στεφάνου, καὶ ἔγγιστα τῆς οἰκειακῆς τραπέζης Ἀναστασίου Κάσπακος καὶ πρὸς τῆς πόρτης Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀνδρέου Κάσπακος καὶ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ θέματος, Κωνσταντίνου κληρικοῦ καὶ κουβουκλησίου, Θεοδώρου κληρικοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Ὀρφανοῦ,¹ Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου, Στεφάνου Κάσπακος τοῦ Βαρδανοπούλου, Νίκου Ἀμανδύτου, Δημητρίου δειχ. τῶν Βημαρίων καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν διεχωρίσαμεν τὴν γῆν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ἥτοι τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων Ἱερισσοῦ, ποιήσαντες τὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν τῆς νοτίας θαλάσσης, ἡγουν ἀπὸ τὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς.

Καὶ ἔστιν ὁ διαχωρισμὸς οὕτως· ἀπάρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τὸν βαθὺν ρύακα τὸν κατέναντι κείμενον τῶν λεγομένων παλαιῶν παλατίων τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς καὶ ἀνατρέχει ὡς πρὸς τὰ χωράφια τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἀγίας Χριστίνης, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ καὶ λιθοσφραῖα ἴσταται ἐκ πολλῶν λίθων συγκειμένη καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς λιθοσφραῖας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἴστανται δρύες καθεξῆς λαυρατῶμεναι, καὶ ἀποδίδει τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρις ἐτέρου ρύακος, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ρύακα ὑπερβαίνει τὸ ραχῶνι καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὴν Γλομπουτζίστα, καὶ πέραν τοῦ ρύακος εἰσι δρύες καὶ πτελέαι λαυρατῶμεναι καὶ καθεξῆς τῇ ἰσότητι ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν γυστέρνιν· ἀνακάμπει πρὸς τὸ παρακείμενον αὐχένιν ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν τὸ λιθομάνδριον τὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἔσθθεν τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν· καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐχένιν ἀποδίδει εἰς πεδινὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ βρουλέαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τόπων καθεξῆς ἀνακάμπει πρὸς τὸ ἀντικείμενον αὐχένιν, καὶ κατέρχεται τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς βορεινῆς.

Οὕτω διαχωρίσαντες καὶ σύνορα πῆξαντες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ τόπος διεχώρισεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐγγράφως τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡμῶν

¹ 1. Ὁρθογομάτου? Cf. signatories to the agreement on p. 80.

ἀποσημειωσάμενοι ἐπιδεδώκαμεν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι — κατέχουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος καὶ τὴν καθήδραν τῶν Γερόντων, καθὼς καὶ προκατεῖχον αὐτήν, κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Χρυσβούλλου αὐτῶν — σφραγίσαντες διὰ μολύβδου τῇ συνήθει σφραγίδι ἡμῶν, μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος α̅, 57Ϛ.¹ [882 A.D.]

+ Κατακάλων Κάσπαζ, στρατηλάτης Θεσσαλονίκης.

+ Γρηγόριος, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης.

+ Εὐθύμιος, μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Περιστερῶν.

And the others, whose names are given in the first part of the document.

The text is taken from the *Βυζάντινα Χρονικά*, vol. v, 1898, pp. 485 f. [published in St. Petersburg and in Leipzig by K. L. Rieken] from a collection of documents copied from a MS. in the Laura by the Proegoumenos Alexandros of that monastery. The original is said, I believe correctly, to be extant in the archives of the κοινότης at Caryes.

E. CHRYSOBULL OF LEO VI

... πάσης παρενοχλήσεως ... ἐλευθεριάζοντες περιστάσεων ... τῷ ὄμματι ... τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερέχοντο, τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς ᾗπασιν ... πάλαι μὲν ὁ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς σιγίλλιον ἐξ αἰτήσεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κολοβοῦ λαβεῖν ἐδικαίωσε τοῦ περιφυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὄρει σχολάζοντας τοὺς θείους ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσεσι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου νεουργηθεῖσαν μονὴν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοίας καταπολαύειν, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ἑρισσοῦ καὶ μόνον. Καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης θείας κελεύσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπὶ χρόνους τινὰς κρατησάσης· ὕστερον δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς Κολοβοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ

¹ Gerasimos Smyrnakes, l. c., p. 23, quotes the last part of this document. He gives the same year, but the fifteenth instead of the first indiction.

πλαγίως διδάξαντες ὡς ἐν τάξει ἐπικυρωτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως σιγιλλίου ἐπεζήτησαν, ἐν ᾧ παραλόγως τῆς τοῦ σιγιλλίου μετενεχθέντες τάξεως, χαριστικῆς τύπον, ὡς οὐκ ὄφελε, διεγράψαντο, καὶ περιορισμὸν ἐκθέμενοι σχεδὸν τὸν ὅλον εἰς δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα κατακρατήσαντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χωρία, ἀπὸ τε τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Χλωμουτλῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ μοναστήρια ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Μουστᾶκωνος, τοῦ Καρδιογνώστου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ, καὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχαίαν καθέδραν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιωνύμου ὄρους Ἀθωνος Ἀνδρέας ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς καὶ πρῶτος, ἡσυχαστὴς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους ἀπὸ προσώπου πάντων τῶν ἐκείσε σχολαζόντων θείων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβὼν, ἐδεήθη τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἀναδιδάξας ὡς οἱ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπειλημμένοι προφάσεως, καὶ εἰς δικαίωμα τῆς ἀδίκως τῆνικαῦτα γενομένης κατὰ πανουργίαν περιγραφῆς τὸν αὐτὸν χάρτην προκομίζοντες, κατεκράτησαν τὸ ὅλον ὅρος τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σχολάζοντας θείους ἄνδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ ἰδίαν παροικίαν, πολλάκις διαπληκτιζόμενοι, ἀποφαίνονται καὶ ἀποδιώκειν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ οἰκείων κτημάτων, ἰσχυρῶς διατείνονται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις νομαδικὸν προάστειον τὸν ὅλον διακρατοῦντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ τῶν πλησιαζουσῶν χωρῶν εἰσάγοντες τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων νομῆς κομιζόμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπελαύνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκείθεν παντελῶς ἐκβιάζονται. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῶν εἰρημένων χωρῶν συνανελθόντες τῷ αὐτῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας καὶ παραλόγου κατασχέσεως τῶν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατεβόησαν. Περὶ ᾧ δεξάμενος ὁ πρωτοσπαθᾶριος Νικηφόρος, ᾧ ἐπώνυμον τοῦ Εὐπράξῃ, ἀκριβῶς διερευνήσασθαι, τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὕτως ἔχειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν ἀνηνέγκατο, καὶ δεξάμενος παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἀμφοτέρω αὐτῶν τὰ μέρη, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβεῖν προσέταξεν. Καὶ δὴ, ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Νικηφόρου, δοθέντος παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς οἰκείας μονῆς Παχωμίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου μοναχῶν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν παραγενομένων, καὶ ἐξετασθέντων

κελεύσει τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Στεφάνου μαγίστρου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου βασιλικοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ πρωτασικρίτου, καὶ Βασιλείου πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ἐπὶ τοῦ περιωνύμου σεκρέτου τῶν ἀσκηριτίων, εὐρέθησαν ταῖς ἀληθείαις παραλόγως προγραφέντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τόπια ἐν τῷ παραλόγως γενομένῳ χάρτῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ προειρημένοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πάντων συνομολογήσαντες κατέθεντο. Ταῦτα οὖν ἡ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναμαθοῦσα καὶ τὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκοὰς εὐμενῶς ἐπικλίνασα, ἐπετάξατο τὸν τοιοῦτον τηνικαῦτα παραλόγως γενομένον χάρτην διαρρηχθῆναι, διαφυλάττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι σχολάζοντας μοναχοὺς ἀπαρενοχλήτους ἀπὸ παντοίας ἐπηρείας καὶ τῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγγινομένης παρενοχλήσεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ χωρία κατέχειν ἀκαινοτόμητα τὰ ἴδια δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸν χάρτην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐνορίας Ἐρισσοῦ διακράτησιν, καὶ τὴν κατανομήν μόνην τῶν Καμένων σὺν τοῖς τόποις τῶν ἀμπελώνων καὶ κηπουρίων αὐτῶν καὶ μόνον. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα κλάσματα τῶν τε Καμένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν κλασματικῶν, ἐλευθεριάζειν καὶ νέμεσθαι αὐτὰ πάντας τοὺς παρακειμένους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς περισσοτέραν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διηνεκῇ δικαίωσιν τοῦ τε μέρους τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀσκητῶν, καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἀπόλανσιν καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν εὐσεβεῖς σιγιλλιώδες ἐν μεμβράναις γράμμα ἐπικυρωτικὸν τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιδιοθῆναι τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι ἀσκητῶν ἐκελεύσαμεν, γεγεννημένον κατὰ τὸν . . . μῆνα . . . ἰνδικτ . . . , ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβεῖς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῆνατο κράτος . . .

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS AND THE COMING OF ATHANASIOS

THE last chapter described the state of things at the beginning of the tenth century, when the monks of Mount Athos had triumphed over their oppressors and 'protectors', the monks of Kolobou, and were beginning to adopt something of the nature of a common organization. The next few years are blank. The only ray of light, and that a very feeble one, is afforded by the Chrysobull of Romanus which ratified those of Basil and of Leo. As was pointed out, nothing was said in the Chrysobull of Leo as to the protectorate over the mountain or about the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*; but both these points are mentioned in the Chrysobull of Romanus, which belongs either to the year 919-20 (or perhaps the year 934-5, only the indiction being given). A possible interpretation of this fact is that the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos still continued, and that the former insisted that the meaning of the Chrysobull of Leo was to confirm that of Basil, and thus to grant them a protectorate over the mountain, while the monks of Mount Athos insisted, more or less as a counter-claim, on their privileges in connexion with the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*. If this be so it would

appear that both parties succeeded in establishing their claim.

If the tradition of the mountain be trustworthy, one other point of interest ought to be added. According to this Basileios, the writer of the life of Euthymius, who was Metropolitan of Thessalonica some time after 905,¹ founded a monastery (or laura?) on Mount Athos. This monastery is further identified with the ruined foundation on the north coast of the mountain, and according to two MSS. of the book called *Ἀθωνιάς*,² in the Russian convent on Mount Athos, was known as the monastery τοῦ Πύργου, or as τοῦ Σωτήρος; it would also appear to have been dedicated to the Ascension, and perhaps the full name was τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Σωτήρος, just as the full name of Pantocrator is τῆς μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ παντοκράτορος. That this monastery existed is of course certain, but in the absence of corroborative proof it is far from being equally certain that it was founded early in the tenth century by Basileios of Thessalonica. It is interesting to note that according to the life of St. Bartholomew of Simeri³ it was early in the twelfth century the property of a Byzantine named Kallimeris, who gave it to Bartholomew. The

¹ Cf. Petit, *Saint Euthyme le jeune*, p. 6, and *Échos de l'Orient*, iv (1901), p. 221.

² Cod. Ath. Pantel. 5788 and 5789. For the facts concerning the book *Ἀθωνιάς*, see Gedeon, *ὁ Ἄθως*, p. 69. It was written by Sophronios Kallijas, before 1855, and published at Smyrna after 1870.

³ *Acta SS.* Sept., vol. viii, p. 821 c.

latter reformed it, and it is stated in his life that it therefore obtained the nickname of the monastery of the Calabrian. Of this name no trace can be found in any surviving tradition. Finally, in 1281, according to the *Ἀθωνιάς*, it was absorbed by the neighbouring monastery of Chelandariou.

After this we know nothing about the history of the mountain until the middle of the tenth century, when the various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite give us some valuable information as to the history of the mountain during the second half of this century.

These documents are (1) the life of Athanasius the Athonite. This important document was written by a younger Athanasius who had been a monk at the laura under the saint, and wrote during the abbacy of Eustratius, the second abbot. The original MS. is said to be extant—I see no reason to doubt the fact—in the archives of the Laura, and there are several copies in various libraries on Mount Athos and elsewhere. One of these copies, now in the Library of the Synod at Moscow (No. 398 in the catalogue of Vladimir), has been published, with useful indices, by J. Pomjalovski, St. Petersburg, 1895. It would no doubt be desirable to have this collated with the original, but for historical research the printed text is a sufficient basis of investigation.

(2) The Typicon or Kanonicon of Athanasius. This is also probably still extant in the original document, but is not shown to visitors. It is published, from probably trustworthy copies, by

Ph. Meyer in *die Haupturkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*.

(3) The Typicon of the Emperor Johannes Tzimisce, also published in the *Haupturkunde* of Ph. Meyer.

From these documents a tolerably good idea can be formed of the condition of the monks on the mountain in the second half of the tenth century, of the end of the history of the monks of Kolobou, and of the changes introduced by Athanasios.

Athanasios the Athonite. Athanasios, whose name before he became a monk was Abraham, was the son of a rich and well-born family at Trebizond. He was born early in the tenth century, but his father died before his birth and his mother shortly afterwards, so that he owed his bringing up first to a friend of his mother and afterwards to relations in Constantinople. In this city he made the acquaintance of Michael Maleinos, the abbot from Mount Kymina, and his nephews Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, the latter being the future emperor. He followed Michael to Kymina to the monastery, which was based on the model of the Studium; but after a time left it, and went to Mount Athos. Here he tried to escape the notice of Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, who were looking for him, by changing his name and feigning to be a peasant. There were on the mountain apparently a comparatively small number of monks, some living in communities and some as hermits, who acknowledged to some extent the supremacy of one monk, the Protos, who allotted hermitages or cells to those who desired them.

They assembled for the three great feasts of the year at the laura¹ at Caryes. One of these communities (or perhaps one of the hermits) lived on the hill known as the *Zυγός*, and to this Athanasios attached himself. Mention is also made of another monk named Paul, who was called *Ξηροποτάμιος*, probably because he lived (again either as the head of a laura or as a hermit) at the place called *Xeropotamos*, where there is now a monastery of that name.

Athanasios could not keep his identity a secret. First, the Protos—at that time a monk named Stephanos—discovered him, but consented to keep his secret and gave him a hermitage three stadia distant from Caryes, and ultimately he was found by Leo (according to the *Vita*, p. 24) or by a monk named Methodius who was sent by Nicephorus (according to the *Kanonicon*, *Haupturkunde*, p. 104), and was persuaded to build a laura, like that of Michael Maleinos at the expense of Nicephorus. This he did at the place called Melana where ‘the Laura’ still stands. According to the *Vita* the church at Caryes was at the same time enlarged by the generosity of Leo.

It is interesting to note that among the monks who joined Athanasios was Nicephorus, a Calabrian, who had formerly been a companion of Fantinus. It is further stated that when Nicephorus came to join Athanasios, Fantinus went to Thessalonica.

¹ The present Protaton: it has long lost the title of laura, which is now only given to the foundation of Athanasios.

This corroborates the short account of Fautinus given in the *Acta SS.* Aug., vi, pp. 621 ff., which also states that Fantinus came to Thessalonica at the end of his life. There is in the Laura a MS. written, in a hand and style closely resembling the school of Nilus,¹ the friend of Fantinus, in 970, by a scribe named Lukas. It is far from impossible that Nicephorus introduced the Calabrian style of writing into the Laura, or that Lukas like himself came from Calabria.

The importance of this story for the history of the monks on Mount Athos is that it establishes (1) That Caryes had become, by the middle of the tenth century, the general centre of the monks. (2) That there was a generally recognized chief monk, called the Protos. (3) That there were three fixed times in the year—Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption of the Virgin—at which the whole body of monks used to assemble for the services in the Church at Caryes. (4) That there were dotted about the mountain various settlements of monks, varying from hermitages to lauras, and of these we can place one on the Zygos, one at Caryes, and one at Xeropotamos, while we know from other sources that there was another, called Klementos, on the site of the present Iveron. Thus the monastic development of the mountain, c. 950, may fairly be said still to belong to the 'laura period'.

The Chrysobull given to Athanasios and the position

¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies* 1903-4, 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy.'

it created. The coming of Athanasius and his friendship with Nicephorus introduced a new factor into the life of the monks. He obtained from the emperor money with which to build a new and magnificent foundation, and to this was granted a Chrysobull giving it various valuable possessions and complete independence from all control by any except the imperial authority. Thus, whereas there was formerly only the monastery of Kolobou with the semblance of a protectorate (among monks, as elsewhere, often more advantageous to the protector than valuable to the protected), there was now founded, on the mountain itself, a rich and powerful monastery containing over eighty monks, all of whom could go to Caryes, and take part in the affairs of the general commonwealth of monks, and at the same time could claim at any moment that, by the virtue of the Chrysobull of Nicephorus, their own interests were immune from any interference by the other fathers. If we consider that the other settlements consisted of only a few monks each, the unfairness of this arrangement is obvious; the new foundation could probably swamp all the others, if voting or discussion went by the numbers of monks and not by foundations.

The appeal of the Athonites against Athanasius. That friction arose in this way between Athanasius and the other monks is certain, but we possess little knowledge of the details. So long as Nicephorus lived it was obviously impossible to appeal to him against the Athanasian monks; but after his death

his successor, Johannes Tzimisces, was approached by the monks under the Protos Athanasius (who is not to be confounded with the saint) and the monk Paul (whether Paul of Xeropotamos or another is not certain) who drew attention to the quarrels between Athanasius and the other monks. Their accusation was that Athanasius interfered with and worried the others, and that no means of peace could be found. An imperial inquiry was therefore held under Euthymius, a monk of the Studium, who decided that the quarrel was chiefly due to the attempts of Satan to make mischief, reconciled the monks, and drew up a series of regulations for the future conduct of the mountain. Among these regulations the part of the enactment, which for the present purpose is important, is that the annual meetings at Caryes should be reduced from three to one, and strictly confined to abbots and hermits.

The victory of Athanasius, and the rule of the Studium. The general effect of this regulation was to give Athanasius more rather than less freedom, even though those of his monks who were neither κελλιῶται nor ἡσυχασταί could no longer come to Caryes. Moreover the choice of a Studite to conduct the inquiry was itself practically a decision in favour of Athanasius, for the Laura—a laura only in name—was founded on the model of the Studium. Indeed it would not be too much to say that the real question at issue was whether Mount Athos should keep the loose organization of the old days or adopt the stricter regulations intro-

duced by Theodore the Studite, adopted by Michael Maleinos on Mount Kymena, and brought thence by Athanasios to Mount Athos. Obviously the choice of Euthymios, himself a monk of the Studium, was practically the doom of the old life and the triumph of the Studite system.

The result was the rapid foundation of other monasteries with the same or almost the same constitution as the laura. But with their foundation begins a new period in the history of Mount Athos, which falls outside the purpose of the present treatise.

The end of Kolobou. It remains to trace the closing scenes in the history of Kolobou and its ultimate absorption by the monks of the mountain.

The point on which friction arose in the second half of the tenth century between Kolobou and the monks of Mount Athos was the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* to which reference was made in the Chrysobulls of Basil and Romanus. It therefore becomes important to inquire what this *καθέδρα* really was.

The view which is usually held by those of the monks who have ever heard of it is that it was the meeting-place of the monks under the presidency of the Protos, and that it was moved from Erisso to Caryes during the tenth century. Its position is fixed by one tradition at Purgoudia, by another at Proboli.¹ I believe that the whole of

¹ I am not quite sure where Proboli is: it does not appear on any map which I have seen, but I understand from the monks that it is a little south of Xerxes' canal.

this theory, including the identification of the site, is quite modern and of no intrinsic value. The most important evidence as to the site is that in the report of Thomas Kaspax it is apparently defined as not being in the neighbourhood of the boundary between the Athonites and the Erissiotēs, from which I conclude that it was in or near the town itself. The idea that the monks used to come to Erissos for general meetings is bound up with the prevalent view that the early monasteries were all near the canal of Xerxes and that Athanasius the Athonite was the first to go to the mountain itself. If so, of course a general meeting-place at Erissos is more probable than one at Caryes, but I am inclined to combat the whole theory. It is true that the tradition which ascribed the foundation of the monasteries Xeropotamos and St. Paul to a certain Paulus, son of Michael the Emperor, is bound up with an obvious forgery (cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 30), but this does not alter the facts that there was a Paulus of Xeropotamos in the time of Athanasius, that a monastery of some sort—Klementos—existed before the time of the latter close to the present site of Iveron, and that the monks were accustomed to meet at Caryes, long before the foundation of the Laura, and had a little church there, as the life of Athanasius explicitly states. Therefore I think that the theory which confines the monks to the canal end of the mountain and makes Erissos a convenient place for meetings is baseless. If so, the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* cannot have been used

for the purpose of general meetings, and I suggest that it was merely a house at which the monks or hermits used to stay when they came to Erissos in order to buy provisions and clothes. It was, in fact, what the monks would now call a *κονάκι* in Erissos, belonging partly to Kolobou and partly to the Athonites, but chiefly to the former.

If this theory be correct (it is, of course, quite as much a guess founded on general considerations of probability as the rival view), the next important stage in the history of Kolobou is connected with the last by the *καθέδρα*.

It appears from the document given by the Protos Thomas to Johannes the Georgian in 985 (Appendix C) that there was a prolonged struggle between Kolobou and the Athonites as to the right which the latter had to hospitality in the monastery when they came to Erissos.¹ It does not actually identify this with the *καθέδρα*, but it very nearly does so, and in the absence of evidence I think it is fairly safe to assume that this is the meaning of the passage. Otherwise we have the improbable theory that there were two spots in Erissos which were a source of contention between the Athonites and Kolobou, that they were both used by the same people, but that documents referring to the one never mention the other.

¹ . . . εἶχον ἀρχῆθεν συνήθειαν . . . παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν καὶ ἐσθίειν . . . πρόσωπά τινα ἐμφανῇ τῶν ἀρχαίων γερόντων seems to me a paraphrase for the *καθέδρα*, and *ἐξερχόμενοι εἰς Ἱερισσὸν σπανίως διὰ τινα χρεῖαν* defines the use to which it was put—not consultation between monks, but shopping in the village.

Assuming that my view may be correct, we can then easily reconstruct the history of the dispute up to the end of the separate existence of Kolobou.

As the monks on the mountain increased in numbers the frequency of their visits to Erissos became greater, and the constant arrival of monks at the quarters set apart for the purpose became an intolerable nuisance to Kolobou. Originally, no doubt, the γέροντες covered all the monks from the mountain, at least by courtesy, just as it does now, but strictly not every monk is a γέρων in the technical sense, and probably the first step of the monks of Kolobou was to enforce the distinction, and to inquire carefully as to the *bona fides* of travellers who claimed to be Athonite γέροντες. The procedure, though natural, must have given rise to constant friction, and at last the monastery refused to keep up the custom any longer. From the point of view of the monks of Kolobou this was the end of the matter, and it was reached about 975.

It may be argued that the Chrysobull of Basil and Romanus would have prevented this if the καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων had been the quarters in which the Athonites stayed at Kolobou, but it must be remembered that Chrysobulls, though a good argument in a court of law, were of no value against an abbot who shut his doors, especially when the same Bulls had once made him in some way the Protector of the Mountain.

But though the monks of Kolobou might regard the matter as settled, the Athonites, who were

rapidly growing in numbers and importance, were naturally not disposed to leave it where it was. If Kolobou would not receive them as guests it must be made to acknowledge them as masters, and they made appeals to the emperor to give them the monastery. Athanasios of the Laura, 'the Studite' (probably Euthymios the Studite, cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 31), and Johannes the Georgian petitioned John Tsimiskes for this purpose, and two requests were addressed to Basil, one by the monks Sabas¹, Malenas, and Thomas² Pitharas, and a second by Georgias Chalandare; but none of these attempts were successful. Finally, however, in 980, Johannes the Georgian, who possessed monasteries in his own land, effected an exchange with the emperor, giving the monasteries of Iverissa in Constantinople and S. Phocas in Trebizond in exchange for the monasteries of Leontia in Thessalonica, of Kolobou in Erissos (see Appendix B), and of Clementos on Mount Athos.

This, of course, completely altered the case, and Johannes, who was anxious to found a Georgian monastery (the present Iveron) in place of the little lura of St. John the Forerunner at Clementos, conceded the Athonites all that they wished in Erissos, purchased still more land for them, and built them a good house for their use when visiting the town.

¹ Perhaps Σάββας μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ κουβουκλείσιος, the last signatory of the Τυπικόν of John Tsimiskes (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

² Perhaps the abbot who was afterwards the Πρωτός.

This is the end of the known history of Kolobou ; I do not think that it is ever mentioned again in extant documents, and there can be little doubt but that it rapidly became merely a dependency of Iveron, little, if at all, differing from a farm.

It only remains to sum up the broad results of this investigation. The life of Peter the Athonite and the first period of the life of Euthymius on Mount Athos seem to be the best attested proofs which exist for the hermit period on the mountain. No doubt there were many more whose names¹ have been forgotten. We have no right even to assume that Peter was the first hermit on the mountain : it is quite possible that he had many predecessors, and that he should rather be regarded as owing his fame to the fact that the end of his life overlapped the beginning of the next period. On the other hand, there is no proof that this was the case ; Peter and Euthymius remain as the two definite examples of hermits on Mount Athos in the ninth century, nor is there any historical proof that there were any earlier.

After the hermit period comes that of the *lauras*—loosely organized bodies of hermits who met together at intervals and had a common centre in the cell of some one outstanding anchorite. This period is represented by the second part of the life of Euthymius and by the various scraps of

¹ Cf. the mention of Joseph the Armenian and Onuphrius in the life of Euthymius.

evidence which cover the period from his leaving the mountain shortly before 870 to the foundation of the great Laura of Athanasius a century later. So far as we can see, the most important incident in this period was the acquirement of privileges for the monks by Johannes Kolobos and the subsequent struggle between the monks of the monastery of Kolobou and those on the mountain for the advantages offered by these privileges. The most notable result of this struggle was a marked tendency to a more developed organization and the recognition of Caryes as a centre for the monks under the leadership of one of their number called the Protos.

This type of loose organization and the period which it marked was closed by the triumph of the Studite system introduced by Athanasius, and with his triumph the present history of the mountain may be said to begin; for from that day to this it has represented the continuance of the Studite system, with developments and changes of detail, it is true, but with no essential or constitutional revolution unless the introduction of idiorhythmism be so regarded. The treatment of this long period, still unclosed, would be the worthy subject of much research, and could probably be carried out successfully if the monks would open their archives, but it is outside the purpose of this treatise, which only professes to deal with the pre-Athanasian history of the mountain, and is closed by the triumph of that saint and the introduction of the Studite system.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER IV

A. CHRYSOBULL OF ROMANUS, CONSTANTINE, STEPHANUS, AND CONSTANTINE, A.D. 919.

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύ-
ματος Ῥωμανὸς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, Στέφανος καὶ Κωνσταν-
τῖνος πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Τὸ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς πράξεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ ταύτας
ἐπικυροῦν βασιλικῆς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς προνοίας καὶ ἀγχινοίας,
ὡς ἂν μόνιμον ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον ἐς αἰεὶ, διὰ
τοῦτο τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν βεβασιλευκότων χρυσόβουλλον ἐπι-
δεδωκότων τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι ἀσκηταῖς, τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα
ἐπισκεψαμένη καὶ ἀποδεξαμένη βασιλεία, διὰ τοῦ παρόντος
αὐτῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικυροῖ χρυσόβουλλίου λόγου, τοῦ παρα-
φυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὄρει σχολάζοντας
θεοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ Ἰωάννου νεοургηθεῖσαν μονὴν
τῆς τοιαύτης προνοίας καταπολαύειν, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν
ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν εἴ τι ἕτερον
ἐν τῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀναγράφεται, ἀπαραποίητον διαφυ-
λάττεσθαι, μήτε προσθήκης μήτε ὑφαιρέσεως τῆς οἰασοῦν
γινομένης. Πλὴν τοῦτο διορίζομεθα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐμφερομένη ἐν
τῷ αὐτῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀρχαία τῶν γερόντων καθέδρα
ἀπαρενόχλητος διατηρῇται ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρείας ἀγγαρείας
καὶ ζημίας, τῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγγινομένης παρὰ τε ἐπισκόπων
καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἄλλου παντός, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς
βεβαίον καὶ ἀσφαλούς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῶν
εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβουλλίου λόγου γεγεννημένου κατὰ τὸν
αὐγουστον μῆνα τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπινεμήσεως ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ
ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσήμενατο κράτος.

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

B. EXTRACT FROM A DOCUMENT AT IVERON, REFERRING
TO A CHRYSOBULL OF BASIL BULGAROKTONOS,
A. D. 980.

. . . καὶ τοῦ παναοιδίμου βασιλέως Κὺρ Βασιλείου τοῦ
Πορφυρογεννήτου Χρυσόβουλλος γεγονὸς κατὰ τὸ *ϡυπη*
[A. D. 980] ἔτος τῷ μοναχῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συγκέλλῳ τῷ
Τορνικίῳ, κατὰ τρόπον ἀνταλλαγῆς ὑπαγορεύων αὐτῷ
δωρηθῆναι τὴν μονὴν τὴν Λεοντίας ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ τὴν
μονὴν τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐν Ἑρισσῷ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ
Κλήμεντος, ἥτις ἐπ' ὀνόματι μὲν τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου καὶ
βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καθύδριται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἀθωνα
διάκειται, ἀνθ' ὧν παρητήσατο δύο μονῶν, τῆς τε μονῆς τῆς
Ἰβηρίσσης, τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τυγχανούσης,
καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Φωκᾶ τῆς ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι
διακειμένης. . . .

The text is taken from Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

C. SETTLEMENT OF PART OF THE ESTATE OF KOLOBOU
ON THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS BY JOHANNES
THE GEORGIAN, A. D. 985.

† Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς ὁ Πρῶτος. † Ἀθανάσιος μοναχὸς ὁ τῆς
Λαύρας ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Φακινός.
† Δανιὴλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ
ἡγούμενος ὁ Ἀτζιπᾶνος. † Ἰλαρίων μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος.
† Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ξηροκάστρου.
† Θεόδωρος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἀρσένιος μοναχὸς
καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Διονύσιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.
† Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Λουκᾶς μοναχὸς
καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος.
† Φιλάδελφος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος
μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Γεώργιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγού-
μενος. † Κύριλλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Κοσμᾶς

μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Νεόφυτος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος.
 † Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Κατζάρη.
 † Δωρόθεος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος.
 † Παῦλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Νικόλαος μοναχὸς καὶ
 ἡγούμενος τοῦ Βατεπεδίου.

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
 πνεύματος, Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς Πρῶτος καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἡγούμενοι
 οἱ τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς ἰδιοχείρως πῆξαντες, τουτέστι
 προτάξαντες καὶ ὑποτάξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἡμῶν, τὴν
 παρούσαν ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀπεντεύθεν ἤδη διάλυσιν,
 τιθέμεθα καὶ ποιούμεν οἰκεία ἡμῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐτο-
 προαιρέτῳ βουλῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ χρείας
 ἢ μετὰ δόλου, ἀλλ' ὅλως οἰκεία προθέσει καὶ βουλήσει
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὄρει μοναχῶν, εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον
 μοναχὸν καὶ ἡγούμενον τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ πρεσβύτερον εὐθύμων τὸν υἱόν σου,
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα διαδόχους ὑμῶν τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς
 τὴν συνεργίᾳ θεοῦ ποιηθεῖσαν Λαύραν ἡγεμονεύειν, τὴν ἐπ'
 ὀνόματι τῆς παναγίας Θεοτότου ἰδρυμένην καὶ λεγομένην
 τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἐπὶ ὑποθέσει τοιαύδε:—

Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μοναστήριον εἶχον ἀρχῇθεν
 συνήθειαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ὄρει διατελοῦντες μοναχοὶ ὅτε παντελῶς
 ὀλίγοι ὑπῆρχον, ἐξερχόμενος εἰς Ἱερισσὸν σπανίως διὰ τινα
 χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν ἐνίοτε
 καὶ ἐσθίειν· καὶ τοῦτό τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ
 εὐαριθμήτων καὶ οὐχὶ βουλόμενος ἕκαστος, ἀλλὰ πρόσωπά
 τινα ἐμφανῆ τῶν ἀρχαίων γέροντων. Διὸ καὶ γογγυσμὸς
 πολλάκις καὶ φιλονεικία μεταξὺ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκινεῖτο,
 πειρωμένων καὶ ἐτέρων παραβαλεῖν καὶ μὴ συγχωρουμένων,
 ὥς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡγουμένου τὴν μονὴν μὴ
 βουλομένου, εἶτα καὶ εἰς πλῆθος ἐπεκταθέντων τῶν ἐν [τῷ]
 Ὄρει μοναχῶν, ἐγόγγυζον οἱ τῆς μονῆς καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους
 τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοὺς διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἡγουμένου
 φιλίαν παραβαλόντας ὀλιγάκις τῇ μονῇ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου
 καὶ ὁμῶς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐδ' ἄλλος παρέβαλλε
 τῇ μονῇ μοναχὸς ἐκ τοῦ Ὄρους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πλεόν τῶν
 ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων ἐξ ὅτου δηλονότι οὐδεὶς
 τῶν ἀρχαίων οὔτε ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων ἔτυχε ἐν τῇ

μονῇ οἰασδήποτε ἀναπαύσεως. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ προσυπέ-
 μνησαμεν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς δοθῆναι εἰς ἐξουσίαν
 τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ
 κυρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βασιλέως¹ προσυπέμνησεν ὃ τε μοναχὸς
 ὁ Στουδιατῶν καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς Ἀθανάσιος ὁ τῆς λαύρας τῶν
 Μελανῶν ἡγούμενος καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς Ἰωάννης ὁ
 Ἰβηρ ἀξιώσαντες δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὴν εἰρημένην μονήν, καὶ
 οὐ κατεδέξατο ὁ βασιλεὺς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρ
 Βασιλείου² τοῦ νῦν εὐσεβοῦς βασιλεύοντος ἀπεστείλαμεν
 μετὰ γραμμάτων δεητικῶν τὸν μοναχὸν Θωμᾶν τὸν Πιθαράν
 καὶ τὸν μοναχὸν Σάββαν τὸν Μαλινᾶν, αἰτησάμενοι περὶ
 τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατένευσεν
 εἰς τὴν αἴτησιν ἡμῶν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τοῦτο
 ἐγράψαμεν διὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ λεγομένου Χελανδάρη πρὸς
 τὸν εἰρημένον βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακοιμώμενον
 οὐδόλως ἠκούσθημεν ἀπηλπίσαμεν παντελῶς τῆς τοιαύτης
 ὑποθέσεως καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρέβαλλεν
 ἕκτοτε. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῆς ἀμυδρᾶς ἐκείνης
 συνηθείας ἐκκοπέσης διὰ τε τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς
 ὡς εἴρηται καὶ διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἔκ τινος εὐλόγου ἢ ἐξουσίας
 γεγενῆσθαι τὴν συνηθειαν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ μόνον φιλίας τοῦ
 καθηγουμένου νεύοντος τῆς μονῆς ὥστε καὶ ἀφ' ὅτου παρέ-
 λαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μοναχὸς Στέφανος καὶ ἡγούμενος οὐδὲ καὶ
 ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι συνεχώρησε παρακύπτειν τινὰ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ
 ἐφρόντιζεν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν καθὼς ἠδυνάμεθα ὅτε διὰ χρείας
 εἰς Ἱερισσὸν παρεβάλλομεν, ὡς μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν εὐλογον
 ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκπειράζειν οὐδὲ ἕως ψιλοῦ ῥήματος.
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ εἰρήμενα οἰκονομήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἐδόθη ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ εἰς τελείαν κυριότητα καὶ ἀναφαίρετον
 δεσποτείαν καὶ προσεκυρώθη δι' εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβούλλου
 τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυρ Βασιλείου τῇ ὑμετέρα
 εὐαγεστάτῃ λαύρᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Εἵτα
 καὶ ἐξόδους πολλὰς καταβαλόντες καὶ κόπους ὑποστάντες
 καὶ εἰς ἐμφάνειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν αὐτὴν καταστήσαντες
 ἀνωκοδόμησαν εὐπορον αὐτὴν ἀπεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἐπεὶ
 συνήργησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δεσποτείαν

¹ Johannes Tzimisce.² Basil Bulgaroktonos.

γενέσθαι αὐτὴν θαρρήσαντες τῇ ὑμῶν ἀγιοσύνῃ καταγώγιον ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς Ἱερισσοῦ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινώσεως· ἵνα ὅτε ἐξέλθῃ τις ἐκ τοῦ Ὄρους παραβάλλειν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καταγωγίῳ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο εἵξατε μόνον τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μείζονα ἅπερ οὐκ ἠλπίζαμεν πεποιήκατε καὶ ἐδωρήσασθε ἡμῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐλὴν καὶ οἰκήματα πολλά τε καὶ κάλλιστα ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ ἐξωνήσασθε εἰς 15 ὑπέρπυρα, ἐν οἷς καταμένοντες ὅτε διὰ χρεῖαν παρεβάλλομεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι ὑπερευχόμεθα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος. ἔπειτα δὲ κατανυγέντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν ὡς οἰκείαν λογιζόμενοι σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἐδωρήσασθε καὶ ἀμπελῶνα κάλλιστον καὶ εὐφορον ὑπάρχοντα μὲν τῆς μονῆς, καλλεεργηθέντα δὲ καὶ φυτευθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν μετ' ἐξόδων καὶ κόπων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ὄντα πλινθία ὡσεὶ λ σὺν τῷ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν φυτευθέντος ἐκτιμηθεῖς διὰ χαράγματος χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἑ. Δι' αὐτὴν εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ ὑπερευχόμενοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀγιότητος, ἐξασφαλιζόμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας μὴ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἁδειάν τινα τῶν ἀπάντων, εἴτε ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων, εἴτε τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Ὄρει καταλιμπανομένων ἢ ἐλευσομένων κίνησιν ἢ ἀγωγὴν οἰανδήποτε πρόφασιν ἐχόντων εὐλογόν τε καὶ ἄλογον ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς, ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐδὲ ταῦτα γράφειν εὐλογον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἣν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ ὀλιγοστοὶ εἶχον ἐν τῇ μονῇ παραβαλεῖν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγουμένου διὰ φιλίαν καὶ θεσμὸν ἀγάπης ἀποδεχομένου αὐτούς. Καὶ εἰάν τις φωραθῇ οὐ μόνον κινῶν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως ψιλοῦ ῥήματος ἐνοχλεῖν ἢ παραπικραίνειν εἴτε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, εἴτε τοὺς ὑμετέρους διαδόχους τῆς τοιαύτης ἕνεκα ὑποθέσεως, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὴν κατάραν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἔστι κεχωρισμένος τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος καὶ γένηται ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀρνησάντων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σταυρωσάντων αὐτόν, καὶ μὴ ἀκοῦσθαι τοῦτον ἢ παρ' ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἢ παρὰ πολιτικῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ διώκεσθαι αὐτόν

ἐκ παντὸς κριτηρίου ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ἀρνητὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσας εὐεργεσίας καὶ εὐποιῖας ἐργάσασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστρέφεται διχα νόμου καὶ ἐρωτήσεως πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οἰκημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βεβαίαν καὶ ἀρραγὴ καὶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν ἔγγραφόν τε καὶ ἐνυπόγραφον ἀσφάλειαν, ὡς ἅτε ἐκ συμφώνου παρὰ πάντων ἡμῶν γεγυνοῖαν μετὰ προθέσεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εὐχαριστίας τῆς προσηκούσης. Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ποτε καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ τὴν εἰρημένην μόνην, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ σακκέλῃ προσκυρωθῆναι, ἢ εἰς ἕτερον σεκρέτον, ἢ τινα πρόσωπον· τότε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὁρους μοναχοὶ σὺν τῷ Πρώτῳ, διχα πάσης εὐλόγου ἢ ἀλόγου δικαιολογίας, ἢ οἰασδήποτε προφάσεως ἵνα ἀποστρέψωσι τὰ προειρημένα οἰκήματα, ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ ἐξωνήσασθε καὶ ἐδώρησασθε ἡμῖν, πρὸς τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς μέρος καὶ τὴν εὐαγεστάτην ὑμῶν λαύραν τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Ὡς ἂν μετ' εἰρηνικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς συζῶμεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνδιαρκοῦμενοι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει, ἐκποδὼν γενομένων πάσης φιλονεικίας καὶ οἰασδήποτε ἔχθρας καὶ γογγυσμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κτηνῶν τῆς μονῆς [τοῦ] Κολοβοῦ καθὼς ἔκπαλαι τῶν χρόνων εἶχον ἔθος τοῦ νέμεσθαι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει τὴν αὐτὴν συνήθειαν θέλομεν φυλάττεσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, μὴ ἔχοντός τινος ἐξουσίαν καταλύειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων. . . .

[Then follows permission to build a house near the common harbour of Galiagra or Kaliagra, without, however, any right to the ground being given.]

ταῦτα συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἐγράφη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη κατενώπιον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον μῆνα τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης Ἰνδικτιῶνος, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι καὶ ἀρεσθέντες κατὰ πάντα προετάξαμεν καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς σὺν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἡμῶν ἰδιοχείρως μηνὶ καὶ Ἰνδικτιῶνι τῇ

προγεγραμμένη. Ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ χειρὸς Φαντίνου μοναχοῦ
καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σικελοῦ μοναχοῦ Λουκά ἔτους
544γ.

Copied from τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος, pp. 37-9. Gerasimos Smyrnakes gives no clue as to whether the original exists or whence he has obtained it.

The same text, but omitting the signatories at the beginning and inserting only as far as Στέφανος at the end, is given by Alexandros Lauriotes in the *Βυζάντινα Χρονικά*, vol. v, pp. 489 ff.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS

THE following lists call for but little explanation. List I contains the names and *incipits* of the lives of Saints found in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos. For convenience I have added the references to similar MSS. in Rome and Paris, and further research would no doubt add to the number, and would probably also show that some of my 'lives' have actually been published. It is a pity that it was not possible to give the references to the actual MSS. in the Laura, but the librarian Chrysostomus was not willing to allow me the use of his catalogue for this purpose, though he was kind enough to give the list of the unpublished items. A complete catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. on Mount Athos is greatly to be desired, but until it can be produced the present list may be of interest. List II similarly gives the unpublished lives of Saints in the library of Prodromou near Serres; this is in comparison with the Laura a small collection, but it has some fine MSS., which the courtesy of the librarian allowed me to study, and to extract the unpublished lives of Saints. I cannot absolutely vouch for its completeness, but I do not think that it is probable that there is much more unpublished Hagiographical material in the library. List III gives in alphabetical order the writers to which the authorship of various lives in the preceding lists is ascribed: when not otherwise stated the reference is to List I.

LIST I

- Acepsumas.** Passio. *inc.* ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ . . . [Vat. 807⁴, &c.]
- Adrianus et Natalia.** Passio. *inc.* Μαξιμιανου τοῦ τυράννου . . .
- Aecatherina.** Passio. *inc.* τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτου . . . [Par. 1180³⁷, &c.]
- Agathonicus.** Passio. *inc.* Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς . . .
- Alexius** (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ). Vita. *inc.* ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ εὐσεβὴς . . . [Vat. 866⁷⁸, &c.]
- Alypius.** Vita. *inc.* καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων . . . [Vat. 805⁹, &c.; Par. 579⁹, &c.]
- Anastasia.** Vita. *inc.* κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς . . . [Vat. 866¹⁸, &c.]
- Andreas Cretensis.** Vita a Niceta Patricio. *inc.* οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐστὶ . . .
- Anthimus.** Passio. *inc.* βασιλεύοντος τὸ τηρικαῦτα . . . [Par. 1506³.]

- Arsenius.** Vita. *inc.* πολλὰ τῶν σπουδαίων . . . [Vat. 819³; Par. 1548¹, &c.]
- Artemius.** Passio. *inc.* βασιλεύοντος Ἰουλιανοῦ . . . [Par. 769⁸, &c.]
- Athenogenes.** Passio. *inc.* ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ . . . [Par. 1447¹⁵, &c.]
- Auxentius.** 1. Vita a Psello. *inc.* ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡμῖν . . . [Vat. 672⁵.]
2. Vita. *inc.* καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς . . .
- Basiliscus.** Passio. *inc.* κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς βασιλείας Μαξιμιανοῦ . . .
- Bendemianus.** Passio. *inc.* τὸ ἔαρ φιλοῦσιν . . .
- Blasius.** Passio. *inc.* Βλάσιος ὁ μάρτυς . . . [Vat. 1245⁶, &c.]
- Ceryeus et Iulitta.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔστι . . . [Vat. 820²⁰.]
- Charalampus.** Passio. *inc.* βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν . . . [Ottob. 92¹²; Par. 1452¹⁴.]
- Christina.** Passio. *inc.* τὴν Χριστῶνυμον . . .
- Christophorus.** Passio a Petro Italo. *inc.* Δεκίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα . . . *desin.* τῷ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτῳ.
- Cointus.** Passio. *inc.* στέφανος μὲν οὖν . . .
- Conon.** Passio. *inc.* πάλιν ὁ τῆς δυσσεβοῦς πίστεως . . .
- Constantinus Imp.** 1. Vita et inventio Crucis. *inc.* τὸν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου . . . [Vat. 974¹, &c.; Par. 1453³, &c.]
2. Encomium a Constantino Acropolita. *inc.* ἀρὰ τις εὐσεβείας ζῆλον αὐχῶν . . . [Par. 978⁵.]
3. Vita. *inc.* τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν διηγημάτων . . .
- Cosmas Acropolita.** Vita. *inc.* νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιῶς . . .
- Cosmas et Damianus.** 1. Vita. *inc.* τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . .
2. Vita. *inc.* κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους . . .
- Cyrus et Iohannes.** Vita. *inc.* ὁ μὲν σωτήριος λόγος . . .
- Cyrillus ep. Alexandriae.** Hypomnema ab Iohanne Zonara. *inc.* ἄρθη μὲν ὁ πολυχεύμων . . .
- Cyrillus Philectus.** Vita a Nicola Catascepeno. *inc.* εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς . . .
- Demetrius.** 1. Passio. *inc.* ὅτε Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς . . .
2. Encomium ab Iohanne Stauracio. [Vat. 1572⁴, &c.; Par. 1485¹¹, &c.]
3. Encomium a Gregorio Palama. *inc.* ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν.
- Dionysius Areopagita.** Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. *inc.* ἐξ ὅρου μὲν . . .
- Dometius Persa.** Passio. *inc.* ἤνεγκε μὲν ἡ Περσῶν . . .
- Eleutherius.** Passio. *inc.* ἀναλύσαντος Ἀδριανοῦ . . .
- Euphemia.** 1. Vita. *inc.* ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονέων . . . [Vat. 797⁵.]
2. Encomium a Theodoro Vestro (Βέστρου). *inc.* τίς αὕτη ἡ ἀναβαίνουσα . . .
- Eupraxia.** Vita ab Iohanne Zonara. *inc.* γυναῖκα ἀνδρείαν . . .

Fausta, Euclasius, Maximinus. Passio. *inc.* κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν . . .

Georgius. 1. Encomium ab **Arcadio** Cyprio. *inc.* συγκαλεῖ πάλιν ἡμᾶς . . .

2. Encomium a **Georgio** Acropolita. *inc.* καὶ τίς ἂν παραδράμοι . . .

3. Nativitas, Vita et Passio. *inc.* πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων . . .

Gregorius Sinaita. Vita a **Callisto** Patriarcha. *inc.* οὗτος ὁ διαφανὴς σωτήρ . . . [Cf. *BHG.*, p. 52.]

Hilarion. Vita. *inc.* ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν . . . [Vat. 798¹⁸, &c.; Par. 1480¹⁷, &c.]

Iacobus frater domini. Encomium a **Niceta** Rhetore.¹ *inc.* ὡς γλυκέα . . . [Par. 755¹⁴, &c.]

Iacobus Persa. 1. Passio. *inc.* Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων . . .

2. Passio. *inc.* τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς . . .

3. Passio. *inc.* κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν . . .

Isaacius, **Faustus** et **Dalmatia**. Vita. *inc.* ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ θαυμαστός . . .

Isidorus. Passio. *inc.* κατὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἔνθεον . . . [Cf. Vat. 2033¹⁹, &c.]

Iohannes Apostolus. 1. Translatio. *inc.* τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . .

2. Encomium a **Proclo**. *inc.* οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι εὐαγγελισταὶ . . . [Vat. 821¹⁵, &c.]

Iohannes Baptista. 1. Encomium ab **Aetio** presbytero Constantinopolitano. *inc.* πολλοὶ μὲν ἤδη . . .

2. Translatio manus a **Theodoro** Daphnopato. *inc.* ἰδοὺ καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν . . . [Vat. 823¹³, &c.; Par. 1449¹⁰, &c.]

3. Decollatio a **Theodoro** Ptochoprodromo. *inc.* καλῶς ἐφῆρ-
μοσαν . . .

4. Decollatio. *inc.* κακόν ἐστιν . . .

5. a **Simeone** Logotheta. *inc.* Ἰωάννου τὸ μέγα κλέος . . .

6. Inventio. *inc.* ὁ ἀγαθότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία . . .

Iohannes Climacus. Encomium a **Niceta** Rhetore. *inc.* οὐδὲν τιμιώτερον ἀρετῆς . . . [Par. 755¹⁷.]

Iulianus. Passio. *inc.* βία διωγμοῦ . . . [Vat. 1667²³.]

Laurentius. Passio. *inc.* εἰδωλικὸν ποτε κλύδωνος . . . *desin.* ἀγιώτατοι μάρτυρες.

Lazarus Galesiota. 1. Vita. *inc.* ὁ πλάσας κατὰ μόνας . . . *desin.* . . . αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία, οὗτος ὁ βίος.

2. Vita a **Georgio** vel **Gregorio** Xiphilino. *inc.* ὁ τῶν κατὰ θεὸν . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ θεοφιλῶς διανύσαντες.

¹ This justifies the inscriptions in a later hand in cod. Par. 755. Cf. *Catal. Gr. Paris.*, ad loc.

- Lucas apostolus.** 1^a. Encomium a **Niceta** rhetore. *inc.* ὁ λαμπρότης . . . *desin.* . . . εὐμενῶς τουτὶ τὸ βραχύ.
- 1^b. Encomium a **Niceta** Rhetore. *inc.* ὁ λαμπρότης, ὁ αἴνεσις . . . *desin.* . . . τῇ ἐν σοὶ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι.
2. Vita. *inc.* ταῖς μνείαις τῶν ἁγίων . . .
3. Encomium ab **Hesychio** Hierosolymitano presbytero. *inc.* φόβῳ τοῦ σιωπᾶν . . .
- Mamas.** Passio. *inc.* τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων πόνους . . . *desin.* . . . ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας. [Par. 772⁸, &c.]
- Marcianus et Martyrius.** Passio. *inc.* ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ τελειωθῆναι τὸν μακαριώτατον Ἀλέξανδρον . . . *desin.* . . . ἐτελειώθησαν οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι. [Par. 1468²⁸.]
- Maria Magdalena.** Vita. *inc.* ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας . . . *desin.* . . . φιλοτίμης κατέθετο.
- Maria Iunior.** Vita et miracula. *inc.* ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν . . . *desin.* . . . νόσον ἀπαλλαγὴν. [Vat. 800⁹.]
- Marina.** 1. Passio. *inc.* οὐδὲν οὕτως ἡδύνει . . . *desin.* . . . ἔχει πρεσβεύουσιν. [Vat. 820²¹; Coisl. 307³⁹.]
2. Encomium a **Gregorio** Cyprio. *inc.* καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄρα . . . [Palat. 59⁴, &c.; Par. 831².]
- Martinianus.** 1. Vita. *inc.* ὃν τρόπον . . . *desin.* . . . τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ. [Vat. 800⁶, &c.; Par. 1450¹⁰.]
2. Vita. *inc.* ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως Παλαιστίνης ὅρος ἐστὶ καλούμενον τόπος κιβωτοῦ . . . [Vat. 866¹⁰⁹, &c.]
- Martyres XL.** 1. Passio. *inc.* κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς . . . [Par. 1164⁷, &c.]
2. Passio. *inc.* εἶχε μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων . . . [Vat. 1245¹⁰, &c.; Par. 772¹⁴, &c.]
- Meletius Galesiota.** Vita. *inc.* δέονται μὲν κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις . . .
- Menas, Hermogenes, Eugraphus.** Passio ab **Athanasio** Alexandrino. *inc.* τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος . . . [Vat. 821¹², &c.; Par. Coisl. 368², &c.]
- Menas in Cotnaeo.** 1. Passio. *inc.* ἔτους δευτέρου τῆς βασιλείας . . . [Vat. 803⁵, &c.; Par. 1454²⁴.]
2. Miracula. *inc.* ἦν τις γυνή . . .
3. Miracula, a **Timotheo** Alexandrino. *inc.* ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν . . . [Vat. 797²³, &c.; Par. 1454²⁵, &c.]
- Menodora, Metrodora, Nymphodora.** Passio. *inc.* ἥδη μὲν τοῦ τελείου . . . *desin.* . . . ἐμαρτύρησαν δὲ αἱ ἅγιοι.
- Mercurius.** 1. Passio. *inc.* Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ Βαλλερνανός . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριον. [Vat. 805⁸, &c.; Par. 579⁸, &c.]
2. Passio. *inc.* Δέκιος ἡνίκα . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ θεραπείας ἀπέλαβον.
- Michael archangelus.** Miraculum in **Chonis** a **Pantoleone** diacono. *inc.* μεγάλοι καὶ πολλοὶ . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ κρατήσει τῆς δεξιᾶς. [Vat. 654⁴, &c.; Par. 501⁶, &c.]

- Michael** (ἱερατικός) Hypomnema. inc. οὗτος ὁ μακάριος . . . *desin.*
 . . . οὕτω δοξάζει ὁ θεός.
- Moses Aethiops.** Encomium. inc. ὥσπερ ἀδύνατον . . . *desin.* . . . οὐ
 ταῖς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς. [Par. 1453⁸⁴.]
- Nephton Halmypolitanus.** Vita. inc. μυστήριον βασιλέως κρύπτων . . .
desin. ἐτελειώθη ὁ ὁσιος Νήφων.
- Nephton** (Κωνσταντιανῆς). Vita (epitome?). inc. εἰ μυστήριον βασιλέως . . .
desin. . . . ἐν τῷ ναφ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.
- Nioephorus.** Passio. inc. οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ἀγάπης . . . *desin.* . . . κοσμη-
 θῆναι στεφάνοις. [Vat. 1245⁵, &c.; Par. 1500⁵, &c.]
- Nicetas.** 1. Passio. inc. τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων . . . *desin.* . . . ἔχειν
 λόγον τὰ νικητήρια. [Par. 520¹, &c.]
2. Sermo a Theodoro Mousaloni. inc. μέγα τι δεῖγμα . . . *desin.*
 . . . καὶ ἡμῶν δὲ αὐτῶν.
3. Passio. inc. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις . . . *desin.* . . . ἡ δὲ κατάθεσις
 τῆς τοιαύτης πέτρας.
- Nicolaus Myrensis.** 1. Vita. inc. ἅπαντας μὲν . . . *desin.* . . . ἀγροίκος
 τις τῶν τὰς ἐσχατίας οἰκούντων.
2. Encomium a Basilio Lacedaemoniensi. inc. οἱ τῶν ἀρετῶν . . .
desin. . . . τὸν θεὸν ἴλεων.
- Onuphrius.** 1. Vita. inc. ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ μεμνημένον.
2. Vita. inc. θείας ἀγάπης καὶ ἔρωτος . . . *desin.* . . . ἡμῶς σεσωσμένους.
 [Par. 1170¹.]
3. Vita (et Paphnutii). inc. ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ . . . *desin.*
 . . . καὶ ποιήσαντες εὐχὴν.
- Pachomius.** 1. Vita. inc. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ πηγὴ . . .
desin. . . . εἰς ζῆλον αὐτῶν ἐναγόμεθα. [Vat. 819⁴, &c.; Par.
 881⁵, &c.]
2. Vita et miracula. inc. ὄντως ἀληθὴς ἡ θρυλλομένη . . . *desin.*
 . . . εἰς μίμησιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν.
- Paisius.** Vita a Iohanne Kolobo. inc. ὥσπερ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βιοῦ . . .
desin. . . . ταῦτα εἰρήσθω. [Par. 1093¹, &c.]
- Panteleemon.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεός . . .
desin. . . . ἔκγονος. [Vat. 679²⁴; Par. 1180³⁰.]
- Paulus apostolus.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. πᾶσα μὲν
 ἑορτὴ . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. [Par. 755¹.]
- Paulus et Petrus.** Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. inc. οὐχ
 ἀπλῶς μὲν . . . *desin.* . . . ὅπου ἡ λαμπρότης.
- Petrus apostolus.** 1. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ἡδεῖα τῆς
 ἡμέρας ἡ χάρις . . . *desin.* . . . σὺν ἡμῖν ἐξομολογοῦμαι.
- 2 (ἀλυσίς). inc. ὅσοι τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἐμεγάλυνας.
 [Vat. 817⁸, &c.; Par. 236², &c.]
- Petrus et reliqui apostoli.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. τί καλὴ
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ τάξις . . . *desin.* . . . ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἔνα.

- Philemon.** Vita. inc. ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Φιλήμονος . . . *desin.*
 . . . τὸ καλούμενον μαλάκιον.
- Philippus Apostolus.** Encomium. inc. ἀποστολικῆς μνησθῆναι . . .
desin. . . . τὰ μνημόσυνά σου πανηγυρίζομεν. [Par. Coisl. 121¹³.]
- Phocas.** Passio ab Asterio Amasiae. inc. ἱερός μὲν καὶ θεσπέσιος . . .
desin. . . . κηρύττουσα Κύριον. [Vat. 794²⁰, &c.; Par. 1489¹⁸, &c.]
- Probus, Tarachus, Andronicus.** Epistola XI fratrum. inc. Πάμ-
 φίλος καὶ Μαρκίων . . . *desin.* . . . τῇ εὐθύτῃ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- Proclus et Hilarius.** Passio. inc. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ . . . *desin.*
 . . . μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πρόκλου.
- Sabbas.** Vita. inc. οὐδὲν οὕτω κῆσαι . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ εἰρηναίαν
 διαγωγὴν. [Vat. 812², &c.; Par. 1195¹⁰, &c.]
- Sabbas Vatopedinus.** Vita a Philotheo Constantinopolitano. inc.
 Σάββας ὁ θαυμάσιος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἀσταςίαστον.
- Sadoth.** Passio. inc. μετὰ τὸ τελεσθῆναι . . . *desin.* . . . ἐν πόλει
 καλουμένῃ Βηθλαπάτ. [Vat. Ottob. 92²⁵; Par. 1452²³.]
- Sergius et Bacchus.** Passio. inc. ἔτος ἦνέτο . . . *desin.* . . . προστά-
 γματι θεοῦ.
- Silvester Romanus.** Vita. inc. οἱ μὲν σεπτοὶ . . . *desin.* . . . πολλῶν
 καμάτων. [Vat. 816¹¹; Par. Coisl. 307³.]
- Sophronius Hierosolymitanus.** Encomium ab Iohanne Zonara.
 inc. οἱ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μακαρίοις . . . *desin.* . . . πόθῳ πράεων.
- Stephanus Iunior.** Vita. inc. θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἢ ἀρετὴ . . . *desin.* . . . ἢ
 καὶ ἡμεῖς παρασταίημεν. [Vat. 805¹¹, &c.; Par. 436², &c.]
- Stephanus protomartyr.** 1. Hypomnema. inc. διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος . . .
desin. . . . μετέθηκαν τὰ λείψανα.
2. Translatio a Psello. inc. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . *desin.*
 . . . καὶ ἀντιλήπτορος Στεφάνου.
3. Passio. inc. ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον . . . *desin.* . . . ἐτελειώθη
 δὲ ὁ ἅγιος πρωτόμάρτυς. [Vat. 679²⁷.]
4. Translatio. inc. καὶ πῶς ἄν τις αἰτίας . . . *desin.* . . . τοῦ πανάγνου
 σου σώματος.
- Stephanus Romanus.** Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Οὐαλλεριανοῦ . . .
desin. . . . μονάς. [Par. Suppl. 241³.]
- Symeon ἐν τῷ θαυμασῷ ὄρει.** 1. Vita a Claudio (?) Cyprio. inc.
 εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντας θέλων . . . *desin.* . . . σνγκαταριθμηθῶμεν
 τοῖς εὐαρεστήσασιν.
2. Vita. inc. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ πάλαι . . . *desin.* . . . ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν.
- Symeon Iunior Theologus.** Vita. inc. χρῆμα θερμὸν ἀρετὴ . . . *desin.*
 . . . ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐκκλησίᾳ. [Par. 1610; cf. Combefis, *Bibliotheca
 graecorum Patrum auctarium novissimum*, ii, 119-29.]
- Symeon Stylites.** Vita ab Antonio. inc. ξένον καὶ παράδοξον . . .
desin. . . . ἐπιτελοῦνται τοῖς πιστοῖς. [Vat. 797¹, &c.; Par. 760², &c.]

- Theodorus Stratelates.** 1. Passio. *inc.* Δικινίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ . . . [Vat. 820¹, &c.; Par. 976³, &c.]
2. Encomium ab Euthymio. *inc.* τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον . . .
- Theodorus Tyro.** 1. Passio. *inc.* Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμίνος οἱ βασιλεῖς . . . [Par. 520¹⁴ ?]
2. Passio (?) [εἰς τὸ πρῶτον Σάββατον τῶν Νηστειῶν]. *inc.* Μαξιμιανῷ καὶ Μαξίμῳ . . . [Vat. 1245⁸.]
- Theodosia encomium a Stauricio Chartophylaci Thessalonicensi.** *inc.* ὁ λόγος τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας . . .
- Timotheus Apostolus.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* τί δαὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος . . . *desin.* . . . εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας. [Par. 755¹⁶.]
- Trypho.** Passio. *inc.* ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀκυλίνου. [Vat. Ottob. 92².]
- Xene Romana.** Vita. *inc.* πᾶσαι αἱ πολιτεῖαι . . . *desin.* . . . ἀμφοτέροι ἀγαλλόμενοι. [Vat. 866¹⁰⁸; Par. 1219¹⁰.]
- Xenophon.** Vita. *inc.* διηγῆσάτο τις μέγας γέρων . . . *desin.* . . . ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ. [Vat. 866¹⁰⁷, &c.; Par. 1313³, &c.]

LIST II

- Alypius.** Nov. 26. [A. 35.¹] *inc.* Καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων ἄθλοι . . . *desin.* . . . τὸν τοῦς αὐτοῦ θεράποντας δοξάζοντα . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805⁹, &c.; Par. 579⁹.]
- Andreas Cretensis.** Encomium. Jul. 4. [A. 40.] *inc.* Μέγα ἄνθρωπος καὶ τίμιον ἀνὴρ . . . *desin.* . . . λιμένα σωτήριον . . .
- Anna.** Sermo in conceptionem S. Annae ab Euthymio monacho et syncello. Dec. 9. [A. 36, A. 37.] *inc.* Σήμερον ὁ ἀκατάληπτος . . . *desin.* . . . προελθόντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ . . . κτλ.
- Barbara.** Encomium. Dec. 4. [A. 36.] *inc.* Πολλὰ μὲν αἱ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ τοὺς νόσους ἐβάστασε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μεμαλάκισται.
- Constantinus Imp.** Hypomnema. Mai. 21. [A. 40.] *inc.* Ὅσοι μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἄρχειν . . . *desin.* . . . πανταχοῦ γῆς ἀνηγέρθησαν.
- Epiphanius.** Mai. 12. [A. 40.] *inc.* Τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογραφεμένων . . . *desin.* . . . ἀντικειμένων αὐτῷ αἵρετικῶν. Apparently a late document based on the accounts of Iohannes and Polybius (B. 1 and B. 2).
- Febronia.** Iun. 25. [A. 40.] *inc.* Οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης . . . *desin.* . . . τοιαῦτα τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γέρα κτλ.
- Iacobus Persa.** Nov. 27. [A. 35.] *inc.* Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων διέποντος σκῆπτρα . . . *desin.* . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βραβείων ἀξιοθήσεται. [Codd. Vat. 805¹⁰, &c.; Par. 579¹⁰.]

¹ The shelf-number in the library of Prodrömu.

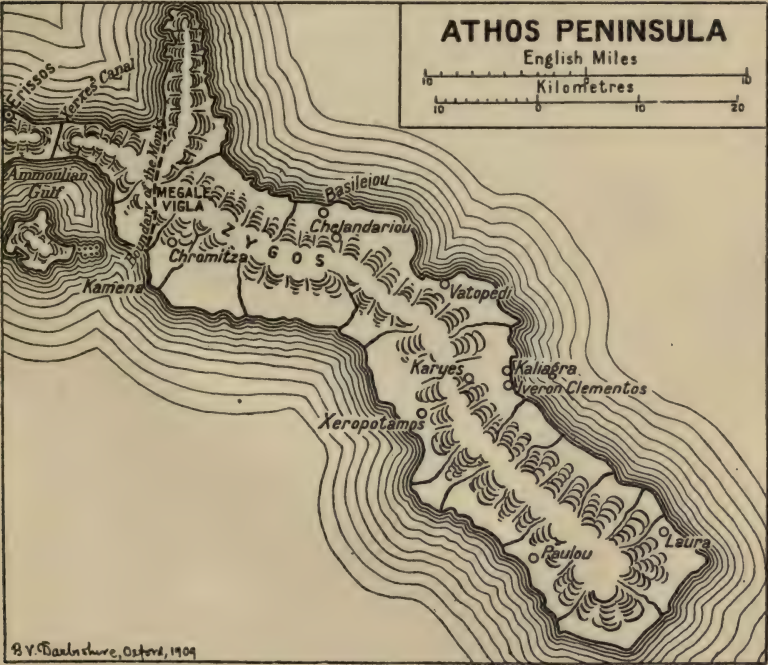
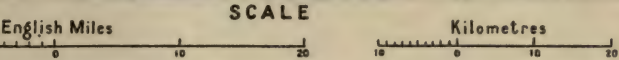
- Iohannes Calybita.** Jan. 14. [A. 39.] *inc.* Τυραννικόν τι χρῆμα
τεκόντων... *desin.* . . . τὸ δένδρον ἀκόλουθον τῷ καρπῷ εἰς δόξαν κτλ.
[Codd. Vat. 793¹³, &c.; Par. 236³, &c.]
- Maximus Aug.** 13. [A. 40.] *inc.* Ἡρακλείου τῶν σκήπτρων... *desin.*
... ἀναθέματι ὑποβαλεῖ κτλ.
- Mercurius.** Martyrium. Nov. 26. [A. 35.] *inc.* Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ
Βαλεριανὸς ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων... *desin.* . . . τιμῶντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριον . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805³, &c.; Par.
579⁵, &c.]
- Michael archangelus.** Narratio Pantoleonis diaconi. Nov. 8.
[A. 34.] *inc.* Μεγάλαι καὶ ποικίλαι καὶ πολλαὶ... *desin.* . . . χάριτι
καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου. Contains stories relating to Satan,
Adam, Abraham, Balaam, the body of Moses, Joshua, Gideon,
Goliath, Sennacherib, Constantine, the Argonauts, &c. [Codd.
Vat. 654⁴, &c.; Par. 501⁶, &c.]
- Onuphrios Jun.** 12. [A. 40.] *inc.* Ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος... *desin.*
... μεμνημένους σου... κτλ.
- Pachomius.** Encomium. Mai. 15. [A. 40.] *inc.* Τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας
ὄντως μυστήριον... *desin.* . . . κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀριστεύματα κτλ.
- Petrus.** λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἀλύσεως τοῦ ἀγ. καὶ κορυφ.
τ. ἀποστ. Π. Jan. 16. [A. 39.] *inc.* Ὅσοι τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου...
desin. . . . διανύωμεν βίον δοξάζοντες... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 817⁸,
&c.; Par. 236³, &c.]
- Phocas hortulanus.** Sept. 22. [A. 31, A. 32, A. 33.] *inc.* Ἰερὸς μὲν
καὶ θεσπέσιος ἅπας ὁ τῶν γενναίων μαρτύρων κατάλογος... *desin.* as
the text in *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 294–9. Apparently only a divergent.
text of the ordinary encomium of Asterius.
- Saba.** Dec. 5. [A. 36.] *inc.* Οὐδὲν οὕτω κινῆσαι ψυχὴν... *desin.*
... εἰρηναῖον διαγωγὴν χάριτι... κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 812², &c.; Par.
1195¹⁰, &c.]
- Stephanus Iunior.** Nov. 28. [A. 35.] *inc.* Θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ
πολλῶν ἄξια... *desin.* . . . ἥ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρισταίμεν εὐχαῖς αὐτοῦ...
κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805¹¹, &c.; Par. 436².]
- Thomas.** Hypomnema. Oct. 6. [A. 33.] *inc.* Πάλαι μὲν τὰς κατὰ
γῆν... *desin.* . . . τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου καθαρῶς ἐπελάμψατο. [Codd.
Vat. 798⁵, &c.; Par. 774¹⁷, &c.; Regin. 56⁴; Ottob. 399⁴.]

LIST III

Aetius	Iohannes Bapt.
Antonius	Symeon Stylites.
Arcadius Cyprius	Georgius.
Asterius	Phocas.
Athanasius Alexandrinus	Menas.
Basilius Lacedaemoniensis	Nicolaus Myrensis.
Callistus Patriarcha	Gregorius Sinaita.
Claudius Cyprius	Symeon ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ ὄρει.
Constantinus Acropolita	Constantinus Imp.
Euthymius	Theodorus Stratelates, Anna (Prodromou).
Georgius <i>vel</i> Gregorius Xiphilinus	Lazarus Galesiota.
Georgius Acropolita	Georgius, Paulus et Petrus.
Gregorius Cyprius	Marina.
Gregorius Palamas	Demetrius.
Iohannes Kolobos	Paisius.
Iohannes Stauricius	Demetrius.
Iohannes Zonara	Eupraxia, Cyrillus Alex., Sophronius.
Nicetas Patricius	Andreas Cretensis.
Nicetas Rhetor	Cerycus et Iulitta, Iacobus Fr. Dom., Dionysius Areopagita, Iohannes Climacus, Lucas Apost., Panteleemon, Paulus Apost., Petrus Apost., Petrus et reliqui apostoli, Timotheus.
Nicolas Catascepenus	Cyrillus Philectus.
Pantoleo Diaconus	Michael (in both libraries).
Petrus Italus	Christophorus.
Philotheus Constantinopolitanus	Sabbas Vatopedinus.
Proclus	Iohannes Apost.
Psellus	Auxentius, Stephanus.
Simon Logotheta	Iohannes Bapt.
Stauricius	Theodosia.
Theodorus Daphnopatus	Iohannes Bapt.
Theodorus Mousalon	Nicetas.
Theodorus Ptochoprodromus	Iohannes Bapt.
Theodorus Vestrus	Euphemia.
Timotheus Alexandrinus	Menas.

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